

AT HOME IN
EUROPE



Muslims in Copenhagen



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Muslims in Copenhagen

At Home in Europe Project

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Open Society Foundations Mission Statement

The Open Society Foundations work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. Working with local communities in more than 70 countries, the Open Society Foundations support justice and human rights, freedom of expression, and access to public health and education.

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared as part of a series of monitoring reports titled “Muslims in EU cities”. The series focuses on 11 cities in the European Union (EU) with significant Muslim populations. Each report focuses on the following neighbourhoods within each city: Slotervaart, Amsterdam; Borgerhout, Antwerp; Kreuzberg, Berlin; Nørrebro, Copenhagen; Hamburg-Mitte, Hamburg; Evington, Spinney Hills, Stoneygate, Leicester; 3rd Arrondissement, Marseille; 18th Arrondissement, Paris; Feijenoord, Rotterdam; Järväfaltet, Stockholm; the London Borough of Waltham Forest, London.

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The At Home in Europe Project has final responsibility for the content of the report including any errors or misrepresentations.

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Preface

A central belief of the Open Society Foundations (Foundations) is that all people in an open society count equally and should enjoy equal opportunities. The Foundations works to mitigate discrimination, in particular harm done to minorities through discriminatory treatment, and to ensure that access to equal opportunities for all is an integral part of social inclusion policies of governments.

The At Home in Europe project of the Open Society Foundations focuses on monitoring and advocacy activities that examine the position of minorities in a changing Europe. Through its research and engagement with policymakers and communities, the project explores issues involving the political, social, and economic participation of Muslims and other marginalized groups at the local, national, and European levels.

Whether citizens or migrants, native born or newly arrived, Muslims are a growing and varied population that presents Europe with one of its greatest challenges: how to ensure equal rights in an environment of rapidly expanding diversity. Europe is no longer – if it ever was – a mono-cultural and mono-faith continent; its emerging minority groups and their identities as Europeans are an essential part of the political agenda and discourse.

Through its reports on Muslims in EU cities, the At Home in Europe project examines city and municipal policies that have actively sought to understand Muslim communities and their specific needs. Furthermore, the project aims to capture the type and degree of engagement policymakers have initiated with their Muslim and minority constituents by highlighting best practices in select western European cities. An underlying theme is how Muslim communities have themselves actively participated in tackling discrimination and whether the needs of specific groups warrant individual policy approaches in order to overcome barriers to equal opportunities.

The city reports build upon Foundations' earlier work on minority protection, in particular the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program reports on the situation of Muslims in France, Italy, and the United Kingdom. All of these studies make it clear that further research is needed. The limited data currently available on Europe's Muslim populations are extrapolated from ethnic and country of origin background. This lack of precise data limits the possibilities for creating nuanced, specific policies on the most relevant issues for Muslims, and developing sensitive and integrated social inclusion policies.

The At Home in Europe report series includes an overview and individual reports on 11 cities in seven European countries. The project selected the cities on the basis of literature reviews conducted in 2006, taking into account population size, diversity, and the local political context. All 11 city reports were prepared by teams of local experts on the basis of the same methodology to allow for comparative analysis.

Each city report includes detailed recommendations for improving the opportunities for full participation and inclusion of Muslims in wider society while enabling them to preserve cultural, linguistic, religious, and other community characteristics important to their identities. These recommendations, directed primarily at specific local actors, will form the basis for the Foundations advocacy activities.

Muslims in Copenhagen

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List of Abbreviations

CERD	UN Committee on the Elimination on Racial Discrimination
DACoRD	Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (<i>Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination</i>)
DIHR	Danish Institute of Human Rights
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EES	European Economic Space
EU	European Union
EUMC	European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
FRA	European Agency for Fundamental Rights
PET	Police Intelligence Service (<i>Politiets Efterretningstjeneste</i>)
VET	Vocational education and training schools (<i>Professionskole</i>)

DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

The following definitions are used throughout this report, as well as the other reports in this series, on ‘Muslims in EU Cities’.¹

Discrimination: The term “discrimination” is used throughout this report. It includes harassment, and direct and indirect discrimination. Articles 1 and 2 of the EU Race Directive² expressly prohibit both “direct” and “indirect” discrimination. According to the Directive, direct discrimination is taken to occur “where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of racial or ethnic origin”. Indirect discrimination is taken to occur “where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary”.

Ethnic or racial profiling: Describes the use by law enforcement officers of race, ethnicity, religion or national origin, rather than individual behaviour, as the basis for making decisions about who has been or may be involved in criminal activity.

Ethnicity: Membership of a group which may share language, cultural practices, religion or common identity based on a shared history.

Harassment: Conduct which creates “an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment”.

Integration: The definition used in this report is that integration is “a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the European Union” as stated in the EU Common Basic Principles (CBPs) on Integration (2004). The Explanation to the CBPs states that, “Integration is a dynamic long-term and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence. It also involves the receiving society, which should create opportunities for the immigrants’ full economic, social, cultural and political participation. Accordingly, Member States are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national

¹ Further details are available on the website of the Open Society “At Home in Europe” Project. Available at: <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home> (accessed 1 July 2010).

² Council Directive 2000/43/EC, 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin (EU Race Equality Directive). Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML> (accessed 1 December 2010).

citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities”.³

Intercultural communication: can be used in a variety of situations. This report refers to intercultural communication as the ability of individuals and organisations (through individuals) to successfully communicate with individuals coming from different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds.

Islamophobia: Irrational hostility, fear and hatred of Islam, Muslims and Islamic culture, and active discrimination towards this group as individuals or collectively.

Marginalised: Marginalised groups can be part of an ethnic or racial minority, or a sub-category of minority groups. They can also be characterised and distinguished from other groups by suffering socio-economic disadvantage and a powerless position in society or in a group. This report defines marginalised groups as those who experience social exclusion, be they part of a minority or majority group in society.

Migrant: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) definition refers to “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired significant social ties to this country”.⁴ This includes students, children and family dependants. A distinction is made in that this term does not include asylum seekers, refugees and stateless persons. However, in some countries “migrant” also refers to a person born in the country to which their parents have migrated.

Minority: Under international law, there is no agreed definition of this term. Some countries define a minority as that which is recognised as such by national laws. In this report, the term refers to ethnic and religious groups that are not the dominant group in society.

Muslim: This group is diverse and although there are a common belief systems and possibly experiences as Muslims, this report relies on its Muslim respondents’ identification of themselves as Muslims. Furthermore, this term includes Muslims who view themselves in a cultural rather than a religious context.

Nationality: Country of citizenship.

Native Dane: In this report, the term “native Dane” is used to mean a person born of indigenous, white, Danish parents.

³ See: Press release, 2618th Council Meeting, Justice and Home Affairs, Brussels, 19 November 2004, 14615/04 (Presse 321). Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf (accessed 1 December 2010).

⁴ See, for example, the website of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), webpage “Migrant/Migration”. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/social-transformations/international-migration/glossary/migrant/> (accessed 1 December 2010).

Non-Muslim: For the purpose of this report, a non-Muslim is anyone who does not define himself or herself as belonging to the Islamic faith.

Race: The term “race” is used in the content of discrimination on the grounds of race, which occurs where people face discrimination because of their presumed membership of groups identified by physical features such as skin colour, hair or physical appearance. References to race in this report should not be taken to suggest that there are distinct human races.

Racism: Where used in this report, “racism” is defined as “racial discrimination”, which according to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) “shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction of preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social or cultural or any other field of public life”.⁵ Racial discrimination can also be based on markers of visible difference due to membership of a cultural group.

Social inclusion: The provision and promotion of equal rights and access in the field of education, employment and decision-making. Overcoming discrimination is implicit throughout policies and practices to realise inclusion.

Third-country national: An individual who is not a national of an EU Member State.

“Western” / “non-Western” countries: This report makes reference to official data from Denmark that distinguishes between migrants (and their descendants) from “Western” and “non-Western” countries, respectively. It should be noted that the term “Western” here includes European Union (EU) and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and Vatican City), as well as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, it does not include many European countries that are not currently EU members, such as the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, it does not include Russia or Turkey.⁶

⁵ UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), Article 1(1). Available at: <http://www.un-documents.net/icerd.htm> (accessed 1 December 2010).

⁶ See, for example: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Danmark Statistics (Denmark Statistics), Copenhagen, 2009, p. 599.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report on Muslims in Copenhagen is one of a series of 11 city reports that are part of the Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe Project.⁷ Entitled 'Muslims in EU Cities', these reports aim to increase understanding of the needs and aspirations of diverse Muslim communities, by examining how public policies in selected cities have helped or hindered the political, social and economic participation of these groups. The reports also seek to explore and highlight the kind and type of local engagement and initiatives between Muslim communities and local officials, which have improved inclusion and participation.

In 2008 and 2009, the At Home in Europe Project conducted research among residents of the Nørrebro District of Copenhagen. Nørrebro was selected for this study due to its high proportion of minority residents, and in particular Muslims – whose opinions, attitudes and views on integration are a main focus of this research. In addition to the research, a draft version of this report was discussed at a closed roundtable meeting, held in Copenhagen in November 2009. Participants included city officials, members of civil society and organisations based in the city, as well as teachers, community leaders and academics. The report was subsequently updated in light of the feedback received. The cut-off date for this report is the end of December 2010.

The picture that emerges from the research is one that recognises an increase in experience and perception of discrimination and prejudice in Denmark since 2001. Yet locally, there is also a clear sense of belonging in, and of identification with, Copenhagen and Nørrebro, among both Muslims and non-Muslims. There is a view that neighbours get along well together and are willing to help one another. This contradicts prevailing impressions that Muslims in Denmark are isolated in so-called immigrant ghettos. Indeed, the results of this research overwhelmingly find a commonality of interests and perspectives across religious lines, in each of the seven areas of life covered by this report.⁸

Copenhagen stands somewhat apart from the national trend in Denmark, which has been to tighten immigration rules and enhance anti-terrorism measures internally. The Copenhagen City Council has taken advantage of the relative autonomy of local government to develop a more pragmatic approach to the integration of Muslims and other minorities. It has adopted its own integration policy, in addition to integration legislation at the national level.

⁷ Further details are available on the website of the Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe Project. Available at: <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home> (accessed 1st July 2010).

⁸ The seven areas are: education, employment, housing, health and social protection, policing and security, participation and citizenship, and the role of the media. These are covered in Chapters 5-11 of this report.

The Nørrebro District of Copenhagen has its own specific character. Here, residents have historically been known for showing strong solidarity with the underprivileged segments of society, and have demonstrated against racism and right-wing extremism more often than anywhere else in the country. While many of the Muslim survey respondents indicated that they did not make the choice to live in Nørrebro, they nevertheless reported feeling satisfied with their living situation and the local area. Most Muslims interviewed regarded language barriers and a lack of inter-cultural understanding as the primary obstacles to better integration, rather than religious differences. They were also more likely than non-Muslims to mention discrimination as a factor. In contrast, most non-Muslims highlighted a lack of skills and qualifications as the most significant barrier they encountered to finding employment.

The At Home in Europe Project's research revealed that local institutions in Nørrebro are regarded as having made efforts to be inclusive towards Muslims and other minorities, although the results are markedly mixed.

In education, a tendency was highlighted of both native Danish and minority families seeking to escape schools with high proportions of bilingual students, by sending their children to private schools when they can afford to do so.

In the employment sector, municipal and regional job centres were not frequently mentioned by Muslims as a useful means of finding work. They instead relied on networks of friends and family to secure employment.

In healthcare, initiatives to enhance services for Muslims and minorities appear more successful. In particular, Muslim respondents appreciated the availability of female doctors for female patients, and the recruitment of some bilingual health visitors to work in immigrant communities. It was also recognised that one local hospital offers *halal* meals – although the fact that there is a charge for such meals, while other options are free, did raise concerns about equal treatment among respondents.

The project's surveys also found strong levels of satisfaction with policing, at the local level. Yet despite efforts among the local police force to increase awareness and reporting of hate crimes, there is still a widespread perception among Muslims that racially motivated violence often goes unregistered and unpunished. Racial profiling remains a sensitive issue, with many focus group participants complaining that young Muslim men are frequently viewed with suspicion by police and in the media.

Both Muslim and non-Muslim survey respondents expressed more trust in the local government of Copenhagen than the national government. This may reflect a greater sense of political identification with local government, and also the different political make-up of the local and national governments. Even when they have the right to vote, Muslims appear less likely than non-Muslims to do so. Muslims expressed more confidence in their ability to influence local decisions than national ones. Over half of the Muslims surveyed felt that they had no ability at all to influence decisions at the national level.

Muslims appear to rely mainly on television and newspapers as their sources of news, with only a small number turning to the Internet. However, a generational breakdown of this finding is not offered in this survey. Many Muslim respondents criticised the media for taking a one-dimensional view of immigrants and Muslims, focusing on negative images and feeding fears.

In Denmark, debate on integration at the national level has at times taken on a hostile tone. Yet it seems that some of the Muslims interviewed have forged stronger affiliations to their local area, where they believe they have a greater chance to make their voice heard. There is evidence that, given the opportunity, Muslims would be keen to build stronger ties with Denmark. Over half of the Muslims surveyed would like to be seen as Danish.

As in many other European cities struggling to ensure social cohesion of a rapidly changing population, there are important lessons to be learned from Copenhagen. There are also benefits in looking at how other European cities have approached the better inclusion of their minorities, and in particular their Muslim communities, in order to explore best practices that could also be applied in Copenhagen. Many European cities are facing similar contemporary social challenges and changes as their societies are transformed by new groups and an increasingly diverse population. Copenhagen is not an exception. The test lies in efforts to shape this transformation, in a manner that seeks to eliminate the various reasons for unequal opportunities for individual citizens and groups.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the report aims and methodology. It also provides a background on the Nørrebro District of Copenhagen, where the At Home in Europe Project conducted a survey and held focus groups with local residents as part of this research.

1.1 Report Aims

This report seeks to understand the everyday experiences of ordinary Muslims in Denmark – and in particular those living in the Nørrebro District of Copenhagen Municipality,⁹ where the At Home in Europe Project conducted a survey as part of this report (see below). It has a particular focus on the impact of public policies aimed at improving integration and social inclusion. Integration here is understood as a two-way process that requires both an engagement from individuals, as well as opportunities for participation.

A report that places its focus on Muslims as a group faces the challenge that Muslims are not a fixed group with defined boundaries – although they are currently defined as such in popular political and public discourse. They are, rather, a diverse set of individuals with different religious practices and attachments. Thus, this group can include both individuals who adhere to the religion of Islam, as well as those who, because of their cultural or ethnic background, are perceived as Muslims by others in society, even though they may be atheists or followers of other religions.

The identification of a person as “Muslim” – whether by self- or external ascription – is not a neutral matter, as it can entail identification with a group that is, at times, stigmatised and demonised in public discourse. In social and public policy Muslims are increasingly viewed as a potential security threat, or a group that is unwilling or unable to integrate.

In the context of this report, the identification of a person as “Muslim” has been left to the self-perception of the interviewee and has not been associated with any prefixed religious or cultural definition. In part, this is because the primary focus of this report is not issues of religious practice or belief, but rather the everyday experiences of those who define themselves as Muslim.

This report focuses, in particular, on the experience of Muslim communities in seven areas of life that are crucial for social integration: education, employment, housing, health and social protection, policing and security, participation and citizenship, and the role of the media.¹⁰ It examines the effects of marginalisation and discrimination, and explores the different ways in which local policies address issues of integration

⁹ For further details on the administrative structure of Copenhagen Municipality, see section 3.3 of this report.

¹⁰ These seven areas are covered in Chapters 5-11 of this report.

In focusing on action at the local level, this report allows for a closer examination of the interaction between residents, on the one hand, and policymakers and politicians, on the other, in areas such as Nørrebro where Muslims form a higher proportion of the population than within the city or municipality as a whole. By monitoring at the local level, this report also examines whether high concentrations of Muslims at the district and neighbourhood level have encouraged the development of practical solutions to social policies that respond to the needs and views of local Muslim populations.

1.2 Background on Nørrebro

As part of the research for this report, in 2008 and 2009 the Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe Project carried out a survey of local residents in Nørrebro District. This area was chosen for its multiethnic fabric, with a high proportion of minority, including Muslim, residents. It is a vibrant and dynamic area, which has also, on occasions, been the scene of a number of violent clashes between the police and different groups that have attracted intense media scrutiny over the years.

Currently, of the total population of Nørrebro District (72,887 individuals),¹¹ 21 per cent (or 15,306 individuals) are immigrants and their descendents from "non-Western" countries.¹² The overwhelming proportion of these people are believed to have a Muslim background. By comparison, the total population of Muslims in Denmark is estimated at somewhere between 175,000 and 200,000 (or around 3.6 per cent of the total population).¹³

Nørrebro is one of the most dynamic and heavily populated areas of Copenhagen. It is a genuinely multiethnic area, with bustling streets and many shops and restaurants run by the minority ethnic communities.¹⁴ Traditionally a working class area, regeneration

¹¹ By comparison, of the total population of Copenhagen Municipality as of 1 January 2010 (528,208 individuals), 14.6 per cent (or 76,680 individuals) are immigrants and their descendents from "non-Western" countries. See: Website of the City of Copenhagen, "Population statistics" webpage, statistics on population by origin and city districts as of 1 January 2010. Available (in English) at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/ContactsAndFacts/Statistics/Population.aspx> (accessed 1 September 2010).

¹² It should be noted that the term "Western" here includes European Union (EU) countries and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City), as well as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. However, it does not include many European countries that are not currently EU members, such as the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, it does not include Russia or Turkey. See, for example: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Danmark Statistics (Denmark Statistics), Copenhagen, 2009, (hereafter Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*), p. 599.

¹³ For further details, see Section 2.1 of this report on population statistics.

¹⁴ For more on the recent history of Nørrebro, see for example: Bolette Christensen, *Fortællinger fra Indre Nørrebro – Solidaritet og handekraft i det lokale* (Narrations from the inner Nørrebro. The local solidarity and power to act), The Federation of Economists and Jurists, Copenhagen, 2000.

programmes and slum clearances, initiated gradually from the 1970s on, led to changes in the area's demography. This resulted in availability of new social housing, which provided opportunities for many young people, students and immigrant families to move into the area.

Nørrebro is well-known for its labour solidarity, and throughout its recent history it has given birth to a number of progressive social movements. The local government, the Copenhagen City Council, is dominated by the Social Liberal Party (*De Radikale*), the Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterne*) and the two parties to the left of Danish politics – the Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*) and the United Left (*Enhedslisten*).

The area has, however, also been the focus of negative national media attention for many years. It is portrayed as conflict-ridden, with frequent and spectacular clashes between the police and a range of indigenous youth movements and groups, as well as, more recently, groups involving young people from ethnic minorities.

During the 1980s, there were frequent violent clashes between Danish police and militant squatters in Nørrebro. In May 1993, Nørrebro was the scene of a riot following the Danish "yes" vote to the EU. The fate of a (now demolished) squatted social centre provoked riots in 2006 and 2007.¹⁵ There have also been tensions in Nørrebro between the (native Danish) Hell Angels Rockers and the so-called immigrant criminal gangs that were reported to be threatening their market share in the illicit drug trade. Finally, in spring 2008, during the period of the monitoring for this report, the area witnessed one of the worst riots in Denmark involving young men from predominantly Muslim ethnic communities.¹⁶

In the past few years, the Copenhagen City Council has developed a more comprehensive policy on integration.¹⁷ It is beyond the scope of the At Home in Europe Project survey to evaluate in detail the success, or failure, of all the numerous projects initiated by the Copenhagen City Council in support of its integration policy, although where possible these are referred to in the relevant chapter.¹⁸ However, by the very nature of its design and scope, the survey does provide diversified first-hand feedback from the residents of Nørrebro themselves, including their opinion and

¹⁵ Article in the national daily newspaper, *Politiken*, on 1 March 2007, "Ungdomshus-ballade har bredt sig til hele Nørrebro" (The youth house riots have engulfed all of the Nørrebro).

¹⁶ For further details, see Chapter 9.1 of this report on policing and security.

¹⁷ City of Copenhagen, *The City of Copenhagen Integration Policy*, the Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2007, (hereafter City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*). Available in English at: <http://www.byensboern.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/LivingInCopenhagen/-/media/Integration/Integrationspolitik/Integrations%20policy.ashx> (accessed 1 December 2010).

¹⁸ For further details on this integration policy, see Section 3.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

perceptions of local government policies, and their main concerns. Moreover, the survey results help to demystify the popular perception in Danish society, which views Muslims as a homogenous group, in terms of their views, values, lifestyle, culture and customs.

1.3 Report Methodology

This report is based on a common research design applied in the 11 EU cities that are part of the At Home in Europe Project.¹⁹

The report findings and recommendations are based on data collected as part of the project's study, as well as insights from academic research and relevant policy documents. Also included in the overall assessment of Muslim integration at the city level, and what can be done to enhance interethnic integration in the society, are some recent analyses by international and domestic advocacy organisations and think tanks.²⁰

The three methodological approaches used for data collection for this report were a standardised survey questionnaire, focus group interviews, and qualitative (expert) interviews.

1.3.1 Survey questionnaire

A standardised questionnaire was administered to 100 self-defined Muslim residents from Nørrebro District, and a corresponding number of non-Muslims from the same area. The face-to-face questionnaire interviews were conducted in 2008 by a team of 12 university students and two university teachers. The duration of each interview was 1-1.5 hours.

The sample frame for the quantitative data was designed to target a maximum representation of the various ethno-national communities of Muslims, as well those of non-Muslims, and was sub-sampled on the further dimensions of age and gender.²¹

¹⁹ The 11 cities covered are: Antwerp, Amsterdam, Berlin, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Leicester, London, Marseille, Paris, Rotterdam, and Stockholm. Further details are available on the website of the Open Society Foundations At Home in Europe Project. Available at: <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home> (accessed 1 July 2010).

²⁰ These include reports by: the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the European Policy Institute; the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), the Open Society Institute (OSI – now the Open Society Foundations), the Pew Research Centre, and the European TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) Research Program.

²¹ However, it ought to be clear from the outset that this was not a random sample, but rather a quota sample, with data collection through the snowball method – with the concomitant pros and cons for analyses of, and generalisations drawn from, the collected data.

As shown below in Table 1, of the non-Muslims surveyed, 77 are native Danes. Of the remainder, a further 14 are naturalised Danish citizens, while the rest are foreign nationals.

Among the self-identified Muslims, 50 are naturalised Danish citizens. The remainder are foreign nationals from different countries, with Turkey (26 respondents) and Pakistan (6) the most represented nationalities. Similarly, looking at the countries of origin of all the surveyed Muslims (both naturalised Danish citizens and those with other nationalities), the most represented countries are Turkey (32 respondents), Pakistan (11), Somalia (8), Iran (6) and Iraq (6).

Table 1a. What is your nationality at the moment?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Danish	50	91	141
Turkish	26	0	26
Pakistani	6	0	6
American	0	3	3
Iraqi	3	0	3
Stateless citizens from Palestine	3	0	3
Somali	3	0	3
Other European countries (Bosnian, British, Hungarian, Portuguese, Swedish, Ukrainian)	3	4	7
Other Middle Eastern / N. African countries (Jordanian, Tunisian, Iranian)	4	0	4
Other African countries (Ghanaian, Tanzanian, Ugandan)	1	2	3
Other (Kazakh)	1	0	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

Table 1b. In what country were you born?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Denmark**	22	77	99
Turkey	32	2	34
Pakistan	11	1	12
Iran	6	5	11
Somalia	8	0	8
Iraq	6	0	6
United States	0	3	3
Jordan	3	0	3
Bosnia and Herzegovina / Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3
Greenland, Faroe Islands	0	2	2
Other European countries (England, Germany, Greenland, Holland, Portugal, Sweden, Ukraine)	3	4	7
Other Middle East / N. African countries (Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Syria)	6	0	6
Other African countries (Ghana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda)	1	3	4
All other countries (Chile, Kazakhstan)	0	2	2
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

**Greenland and the Faroe Islands are constituent countries of Denmark.

As noted previously, all 100 Muslims in the At Home in Europe Project survey were included on the basis of their own self-definition. When asked what they considered their religion to be, all but one (who described himself/herself as a “cultural Muslim”) responded that their religion was Islam – and of these, 62 indicated that they practised their religion actively (see Table 2 below).

Of the 100 non-Muslims included in the survey, the majority (45 respondents) indicated that they had no religion, while 36 considered themselves to be Christian

(Protestant, Catholic or Greek Orthodox). Only 46 non-Muslims responded that they practised their religion actively (see Table 2. below).²²

Table 2. What is your religion, and do you actively practice it?

Question	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) What would you say that your religion is?	Islam	99	0	99
	Protestant Christianity	0	32	32
	Catholicism	0	4	4
	Buddhism	0	2	2
	Greek Orthodox	0	1	1
	Other*	0	16	16
	No religion	1	45	46
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) Do you consider that you are actively practising your religion?	Yes	62	24	86
	No	37	46	83
	No response received	1	30	31
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Including atheism, agnosticism and “New Age” religions

The breakdown of the interviewees by age and educational attainment is as shown below in Table 3.

²² As shown in Table 2, when asked if they had a religion, 55 non-Muslims responded positively. However, when subsequently asked if they *actively practised* their religion, a total of 70 non-Muslims responded, implying that some of those who had previously indicated that they did not have a religion also responded to this question.

Table 3. What is your age and highest level of education?

Question	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) What was your age at your last birthday?	Under 20	13	7	20
	20–29	21	32	53
	20-39	27	17	44
	40-49	21	12	33
	50-59	13	16	29
	60 or more	5	16	21
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	No formal education	12	4	16
	Lower secondary education	38	14	52
	Upper secondary education (including gymnasium, lyceum, college, middle schools, or vocational schools)	35	39	74
	University education	15	43	58
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

There is a significant difference between the educational attainment levels of the surveyed Muslims and non-Muslims, respectively. While 43 non-Muslims had attended university, this is the case for only 15 Muslims. For Muslims, the most common level of education is lower secondary level²³ (38 respondents).

1.3.2 Focus groups

In Nørrebro, six focus groups were also held with self-identifying local Muslims. Each of these groups comprised eight to ten participants, who had not participated in the questionnaire survey. The focus groups were designed to elicit debate and discussions around some pre-planned issues or topics. All individual participants remain anonymous, but references for identifying the groups are as follows:

- *Group A:* Education and employment (men and women aged 16-45)
- *Group B:* Health and social services (men aged 16-45)

²³ For further details on the Danish education system, see Chapter 5 of this report.

- *Group C*: Policing, civil and political participation (men and women aged 16-45)
- *Group D*: Everyday life and being citizens of the city (women aged 18-35)
- *Group E*: Everyday life and being citizens of the city (men aged 45 and over)
- *Group F*: Everyday life and being citizens of the city (women aged 45 and over)

Focus groups D and F were conducted by a female graduate student, and all other groups by the author of this report.

1.3.3 Qualitative interviews

In total, eight in-depth qualitative (expert) interviews were held with local officials, members of nongovernmental organisations, and experts engaged on integration issues in Copenhagen and the country at large.²⁴

²⁴ See Annex 2 for the list of experts interviewed.

2. POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

This chapter provides a basic overview of available data on the population of Muslims in Denmark, and summarises the main immigration trends since the late 1960s. It also looks at legislation and policy on the acquisition of Danish citizenship.

2.1 Population Statistics

2.1.1 National level

In January 2009, Denmark's total population (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals) was recorded at 5,511,451. Of this total population, 3.1 per cent (172,285) were immigrants and their descendents from "Western" countries,²⁵ and 6.4 per cent (353,751) were immigrants and their descendents from "non-Western" countries.²⁶

Denmark is divided into 98 municipalities. The highest number of immigrants and their descendents are to be found in Copenhagen Municipality, followed by Aarhus and Odense (see Table 4 below).

²⁵ It should be noted that the term "Western" here includes European Union (EU) and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City), as well as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. However, it does not include many European countries that are not currently EU members, such as the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, it does not include Russia or Turkey. See, for example: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 599.

²⁶ Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Table 9 and Table 18 (source: KRBEF3 database).

Table 4. Denmark: Population of immigrants and their descendents, by municipality (as of 1 January 2009)

Municipality	Total numbers (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals)				
	(1) Persons of Danish origin	(2) Immigrants	(3) Descendants of immigrants	Sub-total (2+3)	Total (1+2+3)
Copenhagen	408,709	82,374	27,491	109,865	518,574
Aarhus	260,335	30,927	11,356	42,283	302,618
Odense	163,408	17,674	6,847	24,521	187,929
Frederiksberg	80,016	12,272	2,741	15,013	95,029
Aalborg	181,450	11,984	2,858	14,842	196,292
Total (all Denmark)	4,985,415	401,771	124,265	526,036	5,511,451
Total (all Denmark) as a proportion of total population (%)	90.5%	7.3%	2.3%	9.5%	100%

Source: Danmark Statistik (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database²⁷

There is no accurate figure on the number of Muslims, specifically, in Denmark. The Danish law on registration and databases prohibits the registration of citizens according to ethnic or religious identities.²⁸ Official demographic data on residents (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals) operate with two main ethnic categories – native Danes (“persons of Danish origin”), and foreign nationals and their descendents. Foreign nationals are further sub-divided into migrants from “Western” and “non-Western” countries, respectively.

Although census data do not classify the population according to the categories of faith and ethnicity, the application for a central registration number – which is assigned to each individual residing legally in the country – requires a good deal of background information, including date and place of birth, gender and national origin. This means that the national, if not strictly ethnic, origin of naturalised Danish citizens remain traceable. This information can also be used to place citizens and their descendents, albeit on a rough basis, into the category of faith. For example, the second and third generation descendents of Pakistani parents, who had become naturalised at a certain

²⁷ Website of Danmark Statistik (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database (Population by region, age, sex, ancestry, citizenship and country of origin). Available at: <http://www.statbank.dk/krbef3> (accessed 1 September 2010).

²⁸ Law no. 429 on Personal Data (*Persondataloven*) of 13 May 2000.

point back in time, would still be counted for analytical purposes as Muslims. However, in aggregating to a faith category by reference to the national origin of parents and grandparents who migrated from a Muslim country, the risk of including Christians, atheists or Hindus of Pakistani origin is always present in such estimated figures.

Estimates by different research institutions suggest that there are currently approximately 175,000–200,000 individuals (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals) living in Denmark who belong to Muslim communities.²⁹ These estimates are based on the numbers of immigrants and descendants of immigrants coming from countries with predominately Muslim populations (see, for example, Table 5 below). Muslims therefore represent up to 3.6 per cent of the overall population of Denmark.³⁰

²⁹ See, for example: F. Mikkelsen, *Indvandring og Integration* (Immigration and integration), Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 2008, (hereafter Mikkelsen, 2008).

³⁰ Based on 2009 population figures. See: Danmark Statistiks, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Table 9 and Table 18 (source: KRBEF3 database).

Table 5. Denmark: Population of immigrants and their descendants from predominantly-Muslim countries (as of 1 January 2009)

Selected predominantly Muslim countries	Total numbers**			As a proportion (%)
	(1) Immigrants	(2) Descendants of immigrants	(3) Total (1+2)	(3) Total (1+2)
Turkey	31,834	26,357	58,191	11.1
Iraq	21,283	7,634	28,917	5.5
Lebanon	12,035	11,528	23,563	4.5
Bosnia and Herzegovina*	17,989	4,104	22,093	4.2
Pakistan	10,827	9,053	19,88	3.8
Somalia	10,231	6,458	16,689	3.2
Iran	11,904	2,992	14,896	2.8
Afghanistan	9,717	2,47	12,187	2.3
Sub-total (for the above predominantly Muslim countries)	125,82	70,596	196,416	37.4
Total – all countries	401,771	124,265	526,036	100

Source: Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, July 2009.³¹

Note: *It is assumed here that the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina coming to Denmark were predominantly from Muslim communities.

**Sorted by (3) Total (1+2).

By comparison, according to a 2006 report by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), there are currently at least 13 million Muslims living in European Union (EU) countries (see Table 6 below).³²

³¹ Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Tal og fakta befolkningsstatistik om indvandrere og efterkommere* (Facts and Figures – Population of Immigrants and Descendants), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, July 2009, Table 3.2.

³² EUMC, *Muslims in the EU: Discrimination and Islamophobia*, European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), Vienna, 2006, Table 1, (hereafter EUMC, *Muslims in the EU*). Available at: http://www.fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Manifestations_EN.pdf (accessed 1 December 2010).

Table 6. Muslim population in EU Member states (2006)

Country	Estimated Muslim population*
France	3,516,824
Germany	3,400,000
United Kingdom	1,588,890
Spain	1,064,904
The Netherlands	945,000
Italy	723,188
Sweden	400,000
Austria	338,988
Greece	360,000
Belgium	360,000
Denmark	150,000
Other EU countries	~152,000
Total (EU)	~13,000,000

Source: EUMC, *Muslims in the EU: Discrimination and Islamophobia*, 2006.³³

Note: *Based on both official data and unofficial estimates

2.1.2 Copenhagen Municipality

In January 2009, the population of Copenhagen Municipality (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals) was recorded at 518,574.³⁴ Of these, 109,865 (or 22.2 per cent) were immigrants and their descendants from both “Western” and “non-Western” countries (see Table 7 below).

³³ EUMC, *Muslims in the EU*, Table 1.

³⁴ See: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Table 9 and Table 18 (source: KRBEF3 database).

**Table 7. Copenhagen: Total numbers of immigrants and their descendants
(as of 1 January 2009)**

Citizenship	Region of origin	Total numbers		
		(1) Immigrants	(2) Descendants of immigrants	Total (1+2)
Danish	All	24,218	19,283	43,501
	“Non-Western”	19,443	17,345	36,788
	“Western”	4,775	1 938	4,775
Other	All	58,156	8,208	66,364
	“Non-Western”	31,532	6,598	38,130
	“Western”	26624	1610	28,234
Total	All	82,374	27,491	109,865

Source: Danmark Statistik (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database³⁵

The numbers of immigrants and their descendants in Copenhagen coming from predominantly Muslim countries is shown below (see Table 8). Of those immigrants from “non-Western” countries who do not currently have Danish citizenship, 40 per cent come from the following “top eight” predominantly Muslim countries: Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia, Iran, Lebanon, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Afghanistan.

³⁵ Website of Danmark Statistik (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database. Available at: <http://www.statbank.dk/krbef3> (accessed 1 September 2010).

Table 8. Copenhagen: Numbers of immigrants and their descendants coming from predominantly Muslim countries (as of January 2009)

Categories*	Non-Danish citizens				Danish citizens		
	(1) Immigrants		(2) Descendants of immigrants	Total (1+2)	(1) Immigrants	(2) Descendants of immigrants	Total (1+2)
(A) Selected countries only:	Number	Proportion**					
Turkey	3,140	10.0	1,186	4,326	1,471	2,271	3,742
Pakistan	3,080	9.8	1,167	4,247	1,557	2,465	4,022
Iraq	2,212	7.0	600	2,812	1,992	1,349	3,341
Somalia	1,544	4.9	490	2,034	1,084	1,089	2,173
Iran	767	2.4	72	839	1,736	484	2,220
Lebanon	726	2.3	245	971	1,524	1,949	3,473
Bosnia and Herzegovina	631	2.0	58	689	788	171	959
Afghanistan	500	1.6	100	600	306	210	516
Sub-total	12,600	40.0	3,918	16,518	10,458	9,988	20,446
(B) Total – all “non-Western” countries	31,532	100.0	6,598	38,130	19,443	17,345	36,788

Source: Danmark Statistiks (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database³⁶

Notes: *Sorted by total number of immigrants from each country

**Proportion of immigrants coming from each country, as compared to the total number of immigrants from “non-Western” countries (31,532).

2.2 Immigration Trends

Large-scale labour migration to Denmark took place in the late 1960s, when the expansion of the post-war economy and industry necessitated the import of foreign labour from Yugoslavia and Turkey. This was followed by a small number of arrivals of non-European immigrant workers, mainly from Pakistan and North Africa.

From the mid-1980s, there was a significant increase in the diversity of culture, language and customs in the Danish population. This coincided with a structural change in the Danish economy, towards a post-industrial era characterised by high unemployment rates among unskilled workers, a greater mobility of production capital to labour-intensive areas of the expanding global market, and a shortage of

³⁶ Website of Danmark Statistiks (Statistics Denmark), KRBEF3 Database. Available at: <http://www.statbank.dk/krbef3> (accessed 1 September 2010).

professionals from the burgeoning new “high-tech” and knowledge-based areas of economic production.³⁷

While in the late 1960s migration had been a response to labour market demand, during the 1980s there was a “second phase of immigration”³⁸ due to family reunification and the arrival of political asylum-seekers. Of these, the largest groups arriving in Denmark – with the exception of Tamils from Sri Lanka – came from predominantly Muslim countries in the Middle East and Africa. These include Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the occupied Palestinian territories and Somalia. Denmark also provided asylum during the 1990s to a large number of Bosnians fleeing ethnic cleansing in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The majority of those granted asylum had a Muslim background.

The pattern of settlement for both the early labour migrants and also, to a very large extent, the political refugees from the 1980s, mirrors a similar trend observed in other Western European countries. Namely, migrants settled either in the decaying inner areas of the larger cities, or in the newly-built high-rise suburbs adjacent to the industrial areas of these cities.³⁹ This was partly due to the availability of low-skilled jobs and cheaper social housing in these areas, and also a desire to retain a close network of contacts with the community of the country of origin.

During the late 1980s, a number of mayors from the suburban municipalities of the (then) Greater Copenhagen County expressed concern about the formation of “immigrant ghettos”, and persuaded successive governments to disperse the immigrant population more evenly, to reduce the impact on their social budgets.⁴⁰ Some analysis suggests that, within the framework of a general crisis of the welfare state in Denmark at this time, immigrants, and especially Muslims, were targeted as “scapegoats”, and

³⁷ See: Gunnar V. Mogensen, *Det danske samfunds historier. Tiden efter 1970* (A history of Danish society. The era after 1970), Gyldendal Publishers, Copenhagen, 2010. Also: Mikkelsen, 2008, Chapter 3; and M. Hussain, “Mapping minorities and their media. The National Context – Denmark”, EMTel II Research Paper, in *Diasporic Minorities and their Media in the EU*, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 2002, (hereafter Hussain, 2002(b)).

³⁸ B. Diken, *Strangers, ambivalence and social theory*, the Danish Centre for Ethnic and Migration Studies, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, 1998.

³⁹ See, for example: Stephen Castles, Heather Booth and Tina Wallace, *Here for good: Western Europe's new ethnic minorities*, Pluto Press, London, 1984. For the Danish context, a range of working papers by Jan Hjernø, prepared during the 1990s at the Danish Centre for Ethnic and Migration Studies, Esbjerg, also pointed in the same direction. See: J. Hjernø and T. Bager, *Diskriminering af unge med indvandrerbaggrund ved jobsøgning* (Discrimination against young applicants with immigrant backgrounds during job applications), Research Paper no. 21, DAMES, Esbjerg, 1997 (hereafter Hjernø and Bager, 1997).

⁴⁰ See: C.-U. Schierup, *På Kulturens Slagmark* (In the battlefield of culture), South Jutland University Publishers, Esbjerg, 1993, (hereafter Schierup, 1993).

their culture blamed for being “too different” to allow them to be integrated as successful citizens into the residential areas and the labour market.⁴¹

In the early 1990s, under pressure from several highly vocal local politicians, successive national governments began to draft policies to restrict newly arrived refugees from finding housing beyond the municipality allocated to them by the immigration and integration authorities, for a period of three years.⁴² These provisions made it possible for the municipalities to refuse to provide housing and social welfare benefits to anyone who did not comply with this residential restriction.⁴³

Today, none of the inner-city areas in Denmark, or their industrial suburbs, is inhabited by a single dominant ethnic or national group; they are, rather, multiethnic in their composition. The cities of Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense, Aalborg, Vejle, Kolding and Esbjerg all have a significant population of immigrants and refugees.

Muslims are concentrated mainly in Copenhagen Municipality and its sub-districts, followed by Aarhus, the second largest city in Denmark, and Odense, the third largest, (see Table 4 above). Few Muslims are represented in the total population of ethnic minorities residing in Aalborg, Denmark’s fourth largest city.

Among all the various groups of minorities that compose the current Danish population, Muslims are the single largest group among all minority faith communities. In mainstream Danish discourse, the concept of “ethnic minorities” or “migrants” has therefore come to evoke strong associations with Muslims.⁴⁴

2.3 Access to Citizenship

The acquisition of Danish citizenship has been made more difficult over recent decades. In the 1990s, there was a tightening of citizenship laws under the Social Democrat-led

⁴¹ For details, see: Schierup, 1993.

⁴² Consolidated Act no.1593, Law on the integration of foreigners in Denmark (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark*), of 14 December 2007, Chapter 3 on Residence Allocation (*Boligplacering*). Text available (in Danish) at: <http://www.Retsinformation.dk> (accessed 5 April 2010).

⁴³ For further details, see Section 7.1 of this report on housing.

⁴⁴ See: M. Hussain, Tim O’Connor, and Ferruh Yilmaz, *Medierne, minoriteterne og majoriteten – en undersøgelse af nyhedsmedier og den folkelige diskurs* (The media, minorities and the majority—an investigation of the news media and of public discourse), the Board for Ethnic Equality, Copenhagen, 1997 (hereafter Hussain *et al.*, 1997). Also: M. Hussain, “Islam, Media and Minorities in Denmark”, in *Current Sociology*, Vol. 48 (4), special issue on the Muslim family in Europe, London, October 2000, pp. 95–116, 2000, (hereafter, Hussain, 2000); and P. Hervik (ed.), *Den Generende Forskellighed. Danske svar på den stigende multikulturalisme* (The Annoying Diversity: the Danish response to increasing multiculturalism), Hans Reitzels Publishers, Copenhagen, 1999, (hereafter Hervik *et al.*, 1999).

government of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen.⁴⁵ Subsequently, a range of new rules were introduced by the Liberal-Conservative coalition government of Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, which came into power in November 2001.⁴⁶

Following new legislation passed in 2004, access to citizenship now varies for children of Danish citizens and others.⁴⁷ Dual citizenship is restricted as much as possible. Applicants for Danish citizenship must renounce their present nationality and previous passports must be surrendered to the authorities before a Danish passport can be issued after naturalisation.⁴⁸ A child born in Denmark who has at least one parent who is a Danish national is able to obtain Danish citizenship relatively easily.⁴⁹ Children of stateless refugees are eligible to obtain Danish citizenship regardless of their period of stay and schooling in Denmark. A child born in Denmark to parents who are both foreign nationals has no automatic right to acquire Danish citizenship. In such cases, the child may apply for citizenship, but the hurdles to be passed have increased.

Apart from the general formality requiring each applicant to declare solemnly that he or she will remain loyal to the Danish State and society, applicants for Danish citizenship are required to declare their full criminal record.⁵⁰ The law in the area has changed in recent years. While previously it was not compulsory to mention minor offences that did not entail a prison sentence, the law now requires the declaration of any court convictions, including minor fines arising from traffic violations.⁵¹ A criminal record can be a basis for refusing an application for citizenship. Furthermore, the period of residence in Denmark – calculated from the date of issue of the first residency permit – required before an application for citizenship can be made

⁴⁵ Poul Nyrup Rasmussen was Prime Minister of Denmark from 25 January 1993 to 27 November 2001.

⁴⁶ Anders Fogh Rasmussen was Prime Minister of Denmark from 27 November 2001 to 5 April 2009. Rasmussen was the leader of the Liberal Party (Venstre) and headed the coalition with the Conservative People's Party (Det Konservative Folkeparti). The 2001 elections were also notable for the gains of the strongly anti-immigrant Danish Peoples Party (Dansk Folkeparti; DF). Although not part of the post-2001 Liberal-Conservative coalition government, the DF has nonetheless maintained a close cooperation with the coalition.

⁴⁷ Parliamentary Act no.113, the Danish Nationality Act (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om dansk infødsret*) of 5 May 2004. Text available in English on the "New to Denmark" (*Ny i Danmark*) website, at: <http://www.nyidanmark.dk> (accessed 5 April 2010). This Act amended the Law no. 113 on Danish Citizenship of 20 February 2003.

⁴⁸ Information from the "New to Denmark" (*Ny i Danmark*) website, webpage: "Nationality-how to become a Danish national". Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/danish_nationality/nationality_how_become_danish_national.htm (accessed 1 July 2010), (hereafter "*New to Denmark*" webpage).

⁴⁹ See: "*New to Denmark*" webpage.

⁵⁰ See: "*New to Denmark*" webpage.

⁵¹ See: "*New to Denmark*" webpage.

has been extended from seven years to nine years (or eight years for those who have refugee status on their residency permits).⁵²

In addition to this, applicants must also be economically self-reliant, should not have lived on welfare benefits for more than one year during the past five years, and must have no outstanding debts to the State, such as unpaid taxes or fines.⁵³ Applicants are also required to provide a certificate of proficiency in the Danish language. Since 2007, applicants have also been required to pass a compulsory “citizenship test” that tests their knowledge of Danish society, culture and history.⁵⁴

The Naturalisation Office does not make public figures on the number of applications that are rejected, only on those that are accepted. Once investigation by the Police and the Naturalisation Office is complete, nationality is granted to each application by the passage of a “naturalisation bill” in the Danish Parliament.⁵⁵

As well as a tightening of access to citizenship, there have also been changes aimed at reducing the number of new immigrants arriving in Denmark, particularly through marriage and family reunification or as refugees. A recent (2010) report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on minority education in Denmark observes the following:

In recent years, the Danish Government has favoured a more restrictive entry policy for some immigrant groups. The rules for family reunification in Denmark are now among the most restrictive in the OECD.⁵⁶

Legislation on family reunification now makes it extremely difficult for members of ethnic minorities from non-Western countries – whether or not these are Danish citizens – to be united with their spouses in Denmark, unless a range of conditions are fulfilled by the applicants. For example, both the applicant and the spouse must be at least 24-years-old to become eligible for a visa application for the spouse.⁵⁷ The applicants must also submit a bank guarantee of DKK 63,413 (€8,511⁵⁸) before the application can be accepted. They should also provide documentation of their monthly earnings, showing that these are sufficient for the living expenditure of the couple,

⁵² Parliamentary Act no.113, the Danish Nationality Act (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om dansk infødsret*) of 5 May 2004, Articles 8, 12, 14; and 19-21. Nationals of the Nordic countries only require a residency period of two years.

⁵³ See: “*New to Denmark*” webpage.

⁵⁴ See: “*New to Denmark*” webpage.

⁵⁵ See: “*New to Denmark*” webpage.

⁵⁶ OECD, *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education – Denmark*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Paris, 2010, p. 14 (hereafter OECD, 2010). Available at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/54/17/44855206.pdf> (accessed 1 July 2010).

⁵⁷ See: “*New to Denmark*” webpage.

⁵⁸ 2011 level. Conversion using the exchange rate for January 2011 of €1 = 7.45 DKK.

along with documentation of a dwelling that is considered appropriate by the authorities.

As a safeguard against forced marriages, the applicants must also prove before the authorities that the marriage had taken place with the consent of the couple, without compulsion from the family or parents. To be united in Denmark, the couple should furthermore provide evidence to the authorities that their overall affiliation to Danish society is greater than it is to the country of emigration of the spouse. That is to say, that most members of the couple's family already live in Denmark and the spouse for whom the visa is applied speaks and understands Danish.⁵⁹

Naturalised Danish citizens may be exempted from certain restrictions on bringing a spouse from abroad – such as the affiliation criteria – but only 28 years after the date of naturalisation.⁶⁰ The restrictions also apply to the children of naturalised citizens, who might even have been born, raised and educated in Denmark. They must wait until they are 24-years-old before becoming eligible to apply for a visa for their spouse.

⁵⁹ Information available (in Danish) on the website of the Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), at <http://www.im.dk> (accessed 31 July 2010).

⁶⁰ See: *"New to Denmark" webpage*.

3. CITY POLICY

This chapter addresses the public perception of Muslims in Denmark, and national policy on immigration and integration. It also provides a background on national administrative structures and on integration policy in Copenhagen Municipality, specifically

3.1 Perception of Muslims in Denmark

3.1.1 Background

This section addresses the question of how Muslims are viewed both by the wider society, in political discourse and in the media, and also in integration policy.⁶¹

An early indication of the ways in which prejudice about migrants has focused on Muslims came in 1995, with the publication of results from a national survey that found that over a third (37 per cent) of Danes did not want a Muslim for a neighbour and nearly two-thirds (64 per cent) did not want a close family member to marry a Muslim.⁶² When the adjective “Muslim” was replaced by the generalised expression “a person from another race” in these questions, the results changed significantly. Only 18 per cent of Danes were reluctant to have neighbours “from another race” and 36 per cent did not want to see a “person from another race” marry into their nearest family.⁶³

From 1997–2003 the Parliamentary Power Inquiry (*Magtudredningen*) probed, among other issues, the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark.⁶⁴ In the final report to

⁶¹ These two apparently different themes are treated together in this section on the assumption that public perception of Muslims is necessarily influenced by the political and media discourse on Muslims, and that integration policy, in turn, also reflects the popular perception of Muslim immigrants. This section is substantiated further by the international concerns raised about Danish policy in this areas, and public attitudes towards Muslims and ethnic minorities more generally.

⁶² Ø. Gaasholt and Lisee Togeby, *I syn Sind. Danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og indvandrere* (In the Seventh Sense: Attitudes of the Danes about refugees and immigrants), Politica, Aarhus, 1995, (hereafter Gaasholdt and Togeby, 1995).

⁶³ Gaasholdt and Togeby, 1995, p. 37. See also: Hussain, 2000, p. 95.

⁶⁴ The Parliamentary Power Inquiry (*Magtudredningen*) was initiated by the Danish Parliament in 1997 and a final report was completed in 2003. The aim of the inquiry was to assess the state of democracy in the country, and to ascertain which groups and organisations have the most significant influence on democratic processes. The Power Inquiry Research Programme provided research data and new analyses for the inquiry, on which groups, institutions, elites and lobbies hold the greatest power to influence on the democratic processes. The research also probed the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark.

Parliament, the Chair of the Power Inquiry Research Programme concluded that, in the long run, there had been no significant change in attitudes towards immigrants.⁶⁵

This view appears to be consistent with that of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, which, while acknowledging that there is a polarisation of opinion about ethnic minorities, suggests that intolerance towards Muslims is a reflection of the fact that Danes themselves are not religious and are overwhelmingly secularised, and therefore harbour a general scepticism towards any religious practice in a secular society.⁶⁶

Other research, however, suggests that attitudes towards minorities have, in fact, deteriorated since the late 1980s, with both media discourse and anti-immigrant rhetoric in Parliament becoming harsher towards Muslims in particular. Studies highlight this change with respect to perception, attitudes and institutional behaviour. This includes legislation on migration and integration, the representation and portrayal of Muslims in the mainstream media, and political rhetoric about Islam and Muslims,⁶⁷ as well as the depiction of Muslims in popular culture, such as television fiction, films and drama.⁶⁸ Muslims are conceived of as a culturally homogenous group of “foreigners” and a binary opposition of all that is Danish. Several studies have focused on the role of the media in the reproduction of exclusionary discourse and practice.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ For the final report of the Parliamentary Power Inquiry, see: L. Togeby, J. G. Andersen, Peter M. Christiansen *et al*, *Magt og demokrati i Danmark. Hovedresultaterne fra magtudredningen* (Power and democracy in Denmark. Main results from the Power Inquiry), Hans Rietzels Publishers, Copenhagen, 2003, (hereafter, Togeby, 2003(a)). Also: L. Togeby, *Fra fremmedarbejder til etniske minoriteter* (From foreign workers to ethnic minorities), Hans Rietzels Publishers, Copenhagen, 2003, (hereafter Togeby, 2003(b)).

⁶⁶ Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Integrations Forskning I Danmark 1980–2002* (Integration research in Denmark 1980–2002), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, 2002, Chapter 6, (hereafter Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2002 *Report*).

⁶⁷ For further details and references, see Section 3.2 of this report on national policy on immigration and integration, and Section 11.1 on the role of the media.

⁶⁸ See, for example: R. Andreassen, “Sing a song, but stay out of politics”, in E. Eide and K. Nikunen, *Media in Motion. Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2010.

⁶⁹ See: Hussain *et al*, 1997; and Hussain, 2000. Also: Hervik *et al*, 1999; and P. Hervik, “Det danske fjendebillede” (The Danish image of an enemy), in Mona Shiekh, Fatih Alev, Baber Baig and Noman Malik (eds.), *Islam i bevægelse* (The dynamics in Islam), Academic Publishers, Copenhagen, 2003, (hereafter Hervik, 2003). Also: G. G. Madsen, *Mediernes konstruktion af flygtninge og indvandrerspørgsmålet*. (The media’s construction of the refugees and immigrant issues), The Power Inquiry, the Danish Parliament and the Department of Political Science at Aarhus University, Aarhus, 2000, (hereafter Madsen, 2000); and Rikke Andreassen, *The mass media’s construction of gender, race, sexuality and nationality. An analysis of the Danish news media’s communication about visible minorities from 1971–2004*, PhD dissertation, Department of History, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2005, (hereafter Andreassen, 2005).

3.1.2 The development of popular perceptions in the late 1980s

The development of negative perceptions of Muslims and Islam in Denmark is generally traced to the arrival of a large influx of mainly Muslim refugees in the late 1980s. These were mainly fleeing conflicts in the Middle East and the Islamic Revolution in Iran.⁷⁰ The fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet bloc, and the subsequent conflicts in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, also played a role as external factors in turning attention towards Muslims and Islam as a potential new “threat”.⁷¹

Anti-Muslim sentiment in Denmark began to take shape in the late 1980s during a period of relatively high unemployment.⁷² A number of mayors from the suburban municipalities of the (then) Greater Copenhagen County began to warn against the formation of “immigrant ghettos” and the so-called Khomenisation of their municipalities.⁷³ Until this period, both the media and mainstream political parties had maintained a distance from comments based solely on the ethnic or religious background of particular groups.⁷⁴

Another new, internal factor in the late 1980s was the establishment, by some nationalistic right-wing academics and priests, of the Danish Association (*Danskforening*), with the aim to protest against the (then) liberal Alien Act. The Association became a major force in mobilising public opinion against Muslim immigrants, blaming the political elite for having turned Denmark into an “open port” for Muslim immigration.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ For further details, see Section 2.2 of this report, on immigration trends.

⁷¹ In Denmark, it is on record that, with regard to the negative change in media attitudes towards Muslim immigrants and refugees, some of the earliest criticism against this new form of journalism came from the media profession itself, including journalists, editors and managers of media organisations. Today, one of the few professional journalists still to keep reminding his colleagues about professional ethics in this area is Eric Valuer, former Chief of Documentaries at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation’s DR-Radio. For a reference to his criticism of media practice regarding ethnic minorities and Muslims, see: E. Valuer, “Liten og Spøgelsesfolket” (The elite and the ghosts), in C. Fenger-Grøn, K. Qureshi and T. Seidenfaden (ed.s), *Når du strammer garnet, kvæler du jo barnet* (When you tighten the yarn, you strangle the child), Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 2003.

⁷² See: Shierup, 1993; and Hervik, 2003.

⁷³ Schierup, 1993.

⁷⁴ See: F. Yilmaz, *Ethnicized ontologies: From foreign worker to Muslim immigrant. How Danish public discourse moved to the Right through the question of immigration*, PhD dissertation, Department of Communication, University of California, San Diego, 2006, (hereafter Yilmaz, 2006(a)).

⁷⁵ See: Yilmaz, 2006(a). Also: F. Yilmaz, “De har sejeret ad helved til” (They have achieved their goals), in E. Tinor-Centi (ed.), *Fra Racisme til det stuerene* (From being racists to becoming mainstream), DRC, Copenhagen, 2000, (hereafter Yilmaz, 2000(b)).

It was supported, in particular by the largest daily newspaper in Denmark, the *Jyllands-Posten* (later renowned for its publication of caricatures of Islam's prophet).⁷⁶

Several observers agree today that the Danish Association was one of the most successful anti-immigration movements in the post-World War Two history of Denmark, in terms of its ability to change dominant political and media discourse on minority issues.⁷⁷ The national media picked up on the themes put forward by the Association – under the mottos of “nothing should be a taboo anymore” and “let's debate all the problems caused by immigrants openly” – and subsequently began to write critical articles about the presence of Muslims in Denmark.⁷⁸

This trend in national media and political debate continued subsequently, and culminated in the landslide gains of the strongly anti-immigrant Danish Peoples Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF) in the 2001 general elections. Although not part of the post-2001 Liberal-Conservative coalition government, the DF has nonetheless maintained a close cooperation with the coalition.⁷⁹

The 1990s saw a tightening of citizenship laws, under the Social Democrat-led government of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen.⁸⁰ The development of a political discourse that positioned immigrants and minorities as a threat to Danish values and societies can be found, for example, in Prime Minister Poul Rasmussen's New Year message, at the turn of the Millennium, “It is really a problem if Danes begin to feel strangers in their own neighbourhood”. He also added that “everyone should adopt Danish values”.⁸¹

In 2000, Karen Jespersen (then with the Social Democrats), who was Minister of the Interior and Integration, as well as Minister of Social Affairs, in Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen's coalition,⁸² expressed her fears about a multicultural society in the following manner, “I could never under any circumstances live with [the idea of] a

⁷⁶ See, for example: M. Hussain, “Harm and offence through mass mediation: The cartoons controversy and the Danish press”, in *Quaderns Del CAC*, no. 27, Council de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya, pp. 47–58. April 2007. See: <http://www.cac.cat> (Note: the original manuscript was submitted in English, but the article in the journal appears in Catalan language).

⁷⁷ See: Yilmaz, 2006(a); and Yilmaz, 2006(b).

⁷⁸ In the mid-1990s, some of the popular tabloids and national television channels produced special editions and debate programmes founded on campaign journalism and focusing solely on problems related to immigration. For additional details, see for example: Yilmaz, 2006(a); and Hervik, 1999. Also: Hussain *et al*, 1997.

⁷⁹ The coalition was led by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen from 2001 to 2009, and Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen from 2009.

⁸⁰ Poul Nyrup Rasmussen was Prime Minister of Denmark from 25 January 1993 to 27 November 2001. For further details, see Section 2.3 of this report on access to citizenship.

⁸¹ The Prime Minister's New Year address, at 19.00 on 1st January 2000, on DR-TV.

⁸² Anders Fogh Rasmussen was Prime Minister of Denmark from 27 November 2001 to 5 April 2009. Rasmussen was the leader of the Liberal Party (*Venstre*), and headed a coalition with the Conservative People's Party (*Det Konservative Folkeparti*).

multicultural society, in which the cultures are positioned equally". She clarified further which cultures she was referring to by adding that, "in my opinion it is wrong to juxtapose Muslim values with Danish values".⁸³

In the same year (2000), an early indication of growing international concern about the atmosphere in Denmark came with the release of the second periodic report on Denmark by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI).⁸⁴ The report presented its assessment in relation to various areas, including antidiscrimination legislation, political discourse and media practice, the labour market, housing and education. It was critical of the situation in Denmark and recommended a range of measures to eliminate day-to-day, as well as institutionalised, discrimination against ethnic minorities. It expressed particular concern about the general climate of public opinion, as well as discrimination in access to public services, the labour market, housing and public places. In its executive summary, the ECRI report described the general situation regarding ethnic relations and public policy as follows:

Problems of xenophobia and discrimination persist, however, and concern particularly non-EU citizens – notably immigrants, asylum-seekers and refugees – but also Danish nationals of foreign backgrounds. People perceived to be Muslims, and especially Somalis, appear to be particularly vulnerable to these phenomena. Most of the existing legal provisions aimed at combating racism and discrimination do not appear to provide effective protection against these phenomena. Of deep concern is the prevailing climate of opinion concerning individuals of foreign backgrounds and the impact and use of xenophobic propaganda in politics. Discrimination, particularly in the labour market, but also in other areas, such as the housing market and in access to public places, is also of particular concern.⁸⁵

Mainstream politicians and media in Denmark downplayed the authenticity and validity of the criticism expressed in the ECRI report. The government ignored its recommendation to improve the situation, insisting that its results were too out-of-date to be of importance.⁸⁶

⁸³ Interview in the national daily newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, on 6 September 2000.

⁸⁴ ECRI, *Second Report on Denmark*, adopted on 16 June 2000, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), Council of Europe, Strasbourg, April 2001, (hereafter ECRI, *Second Report*). Available at: http://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_02/02_CbC_eng/02-cbc-denmark-eng.pdf (accessed 1 October 2009).

⁸⁵ ECRI, *Second Report*, p. 4.

⁸⁶ The government's response was reported in various media on the 19 April 2001. The Prime Minister's response to the questions raised in the Parliamentary debate is available (in Danish) at: http://www.folketinget.dk/Samling/20001/spor_sv/S2403.htm (accessed 1 July 2010).

3.1.3 The post-2001 environment

More recent research suggests that many of the trends and concerns identified in the 2000 ECRI report, particularly regarding public discourse on minorities, only worsened in the following years. The political rhetoric and debate on minorities, refugees and immigrants during the 2001 general election attracted a great deal of criticism, in the form of statements and comments from the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Amnesty International, and the European Networks against Racism (ENAR), as well as the spokespersons of the Social Democrats in Sweden, and the Liberals in both Norway and Sweden.⁸⁷

Following the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 and its aftermath, the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) released a provisional report (2001) on the situation of Muslim minorities in the European Union (EU). According to this report, the National Focal Point for Denmark had noted the following:

[...] a dramatic and prolonged upsurge of both verbal and physical attacks on Muslims in Denmark, although it simultaneously stated that Danish media were already 'drenched' with negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. Typically it was verbal and physical threats being made, particularly to those visually identifiable Muslims, in particular women wearing the hijab. [Also] a significant number of death threats. Attacks were also aimed at mosques and commercial property belonging to Muslims. Graffiti, arson and the use of firebombs were all noted. Muslims were not the only targets, and ethnic minorities from all backgrounds reported an increase in the levels of verbal abuse and harassment.⁸⁸

As with the 2000 ECRI report, there was limited comment on, or response to, the EUMC report from the government or mainstream media.

In 2002, the United Nations Standing Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), during its review of Denmark's periodic report, expressed concerns:

[...] policies and practices such as the housing dispersal policy, the quota system for the admission of minority children to certain crèches and nurseries, and the reported prohibition of the use of the mother tongue in some of these

⁸⁷ See: M. Hussain, "Diskurs om islam i medier og politik" (Discourse on Islam in Media and Politics), in M. Sheikh, F. Alev, B. Baig, and M. Noman (eds.), *Islam i bevægelse* (Dynamics in Islam), Academic Publishers, Copenhagen, 2003, p. 129, (hereafter, Hussain, 2003).

⁸⁸ For details and comparison among the 15 EU countries, see: EUMC, *Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001*, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Intolerance (EUMC), Vienna, May 2002, pp. 15–16. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Synthesis-report_en.pdf (accessed 1 July 2010). The EUMC was succeeded by the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) in 2007.

establishments may, although aimed at facilitating integration, lead to indirect discrimination against minorities and refugees.⁸⁹

This criticism of Danish policy was again largely ignored by the Danish media.⁹⁰

However, a 2003 anthology on the minority situation in Denmark was even more critical:

[...] Denmark today is one of the most closed societies in the world. According to opinion polls, Danes are extremely intolerant towards other religious communities, and legislative and administrative practice are, in a number of areas, on the brink of confrontation with human rights, as laid down in the international conventions.⁹¹

An international Gallop poll, conducted in 27 Muslim and Western countries, was commissioned by the World Economic Forum (WEF) prior to its meeting in Davos in January 2008. The poll results were reported on Danmark Radio's Text-TV as follows (DR's own wording), "Danes are the most Islam-critical; 79 per cent of the Danes look at greater interaction with the Muslim world as a threat. In Spain, Holland, Italy and Sweden this share is between 65 and 67 per cent."⁹²

This perception is supported by an EU-wide survey on discrimination, conducted in 2009 by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), which succeeded the EUMC in 2007. This survey explored perceptions of discrimination amongst two Muslim groups in Denmark, Somalis and Turks. It found that 61 per cent of Somalis

⁸⁹ CERD, *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 9 of the Convention. Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Denmark*, CERD/C/60/CO/5, United Nations Standing Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), Geneva, 21 May 2002, p. 3. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,CERD,,DNK,3d5a73c423,0.html> (accessed 1 July 2010).

⁹⁰ For further references, see: P. Justesen, "International Kritik–Den nationale arrogance" (International Criticism – the national arrogance), in C. Fenger-Grøn, K. Qureshi and T. Seidenfaden (eds.), *Når du strammer garnet* (When you tighten the yarn), Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 2003.

⁹¹ The quote is taken from the introductory chapter to an anthology on the minority situation in Denmark, co-edited by Carsten Fenger-Grøn, Kamal Qureshi and Tøger Seidenfaden, who are, respectively, Editor of Aarhus University Publishers, a Parliamentary Member for the Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*), and Editor-in-Chief of a major liberal daily (*Politiken*). See: C. Fenger-Grøn, K. Qureshi and T. Seidenfaden, *Når du strammer garnet, kvæler du jo barnet* (When you tighten the yarn, you strangle the child), in C. Fenger-Grøn, K. Qureshi and T. Seidenfaden (eds.), *Når du strammer garnet* (When you tighten the yarn), Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 2003.

⁹² Danmark Radio, Text-TV, 21 January 2008 (no transcript available).

and 58 per cent of Turks believed that discrimination based on ethnic or immigrant origin was widespread in Denmark.⁹³

Similarly, another recent analysis (2009) compares the political rhetoric and perception of Muslims in Parliamentary debates held between 1967 and 2005, with the perception of Russian Jewish immigrants in the early twentieth century (1903-1945). It concludes that the way in which Muslims were talked about as a threat to Danish values and culture, is comparable to the way that Jews were talked about and debated in the Danish Parliament in the pre-war period.⁹⁴

While the government has shown reluctance to acknowledge that ethnic discrimination is a social and institutional phenomenon in Denmark – ignoring both domestic and international criticism (including from ECRI, CERD, FRA and UNHCR) – there are signs that some other state bodies do recognise the need to address these issues.

For example, in its 2006 annual report the Police Intelligence Service (*Politiets Efterretningstjeneste*, PET) acknowledged that racially motivated violence had increased in the previous years, but found that this increase did not appear in crime statistics because victims did not believe that it worthwhile to report hate crimes to the local police stations.⁹⁵ The PET subsequently announced its intention to start a campaign among minority ethnic communities to encourage them to report such cases to the police.⁹⁶

3.2 National Policy on Immigration and Integration

Overall integration policy is devised by the national government. From 2001 until the present, the Liberal-Conservative coalition government, led first by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen (from November 2001) and later by Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (from April 2009), has had an absolute majority in Parliament – with backing from the strongly anti-immigrant, and self-proclaimed anti-Muslim, Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF).⁹⁷ This has enabled the government to succeed in passing tougher and more restrictive legislation on immigration. In recent analyses, these restrictions have been viewed by some as impinging upon the quality of

⁹³ FRA, *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS)*, European Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), Vienna, 2009 (hereafter EU-MIDIS, 2009 Report), p. 6.

⁹⁴ B. A. Jacobson, *Religion som fremmedhed i dansk politik. En sammenligning af italesættelser af henholdsvis jøder og muslimer i dansk politisk 1903–1945 og 1967–2005*, (Religion as foreignness in Danish politics. A comparison of debate on Jews and Muslims in Danish politics 1903–1945 and 1967–2005), Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale Studier (Institute of Cross-cultural and Regional Studies), Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, 2009, (hereafter Jacobson, 2009).

⁹⁵ PET, *Årsberetninger, Politiets Efterretningstjeneste* (Annual Report of the Police Intelligence Service), the Police Intelligence Service (Politiets Efterretningstjeneste; PET), Copenhagen, 2006, (hereafter PET, *Annual Report 2006*).

⁹⁶ For further details, see Chapter 11 of this report on policing and security.

⁹⁷ See, for example: Hussain, 2000, pp. 96–97.

life of ethnic minorities from “non-Western” countries,⁹⁸ of which the vast majority are Muslim immigrants.⁹⁹

Prior to 1999, the laws under which the various aspects of immigration and the migrant situation in Denmark were regulated fell under the jurisdiction of a number of different ministries, including the ministries of interior, housing, education and justice.

In 1999, under the new structure introduced by the national government, the Ministry of the Interior was handed the task of ensuring the overall integration of ethnic minorities, and the first ever package of laws on integration (*Integrationloven af 1999*) was passed by Parliament. This body of laws has since been amended to cover areas such as the right to political asylum, family reunification, naturalisation, and Danish language instruction for adult immigrants.¹⁰⁰

From 2001, the new Liberal-Conservative coalition government of Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen made a number of important changes regarding integration issues. First, an entirely new ministry, the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, was established, separate from the Ministry of the Interior. This new ministry was given the responsibility to administer immigration, asylum and integration issues. Second, the Board for Ethnic Equality was abolished. Third, in January 2002 the government made significant cuts in funding to migrant organisations. NGOs that had previously received state funding for the improvement of integration conditions and

⁹⁸ It should be noted that the term “Western” here includes EU and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and Vatican City), as well as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, it does not include many European countries that are not currently EU members, such as the countries of the former Yugoslavia. See, for example: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 599.

⁹⁹ For further details, see Section 2.1 of this report on population statistics.

⁹⁹ A critical assessment of these restrictive policies is to be found in: C. Horst, “Etnisk ligestilling i det politiske kampfelt” (Ethnic equality in the political battlefield), in S. Dalager and P. S. Jørgensen (eds.), *Tid til Respect* (Time for Respect), Socialpolitisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 2004, (hereafter Horst, 2004). See also: Jørgen Elm Larsen, John Andersen and Iver Hornemann Møller, “The exclusion and marginalisation of immigrants in the Danish welfare society: Dilemmas and challenge”, in *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, vol. 29, nr. 5, 2009, pp. 274–286.

¹⁰⁰ These changes to national legislation were formulated by the newly established Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration soon after the elections of November 2001, and gradually introduced in the first half of the year 2002. Language training of adult immigrant is an area covered by the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration Affairs, while all other areas of adult education are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The policy was worded as follows: “The measures to improve immigrants’ proficiency in Danish language must be improved. Mother tongue instruction will be abolished”. See: Danish Government, *Vækst, velfærd og fornyelse* (Growth, Welfare and Innovation), Government Policy Paper, Copenhagen, 2001. Available at: <http://www.stm.dk/publikationer/regeringsgrundlag/reggrund01.htm> (accessed 28 October 2010).

the qualifications of minorities were also taken off the budgets of the newly established Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration.¹⁰¹

Legislation introduced in 2002 by the national government (referred to as the “Start-help” bill) provides the framework for the integration policy that local government must operate within.¹⁰² The six key elements to this national integration policy are as follows:

- *Reduction in new immigration from non-Western countries.* The administration of the laws emerging from the new policy rests with the central immigration authorities, under the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration.
- *Reduction in the number of unemployed migrants, living on social welfare benefits.* This policy is executed through new legislation on the employment market and social sector, which places a ceiling on the maximum amount that an unemployed family is entitled to claim. This is administrated by the local governments (municipalities).
- *“Start-help” package for refugees.* This is set at a level far lower than that for social security or unemployment benefits, which are set in accordance with per capita minimum living expenditure. This policy has a two-pronged aim. First, to keep so-called economic refugees away from Denmark. Second, to push those who have already been granted asylum into low-paid service jobs in the secondary labour market and away from social welfare benefits. Only after a period of seven years is a person with refugee status eligible for the ordinary social welfare benefits. The municipalities in which the refugees are placed by the immigration authorities are responsible to take care of their integration, through language courses, and job consultancies and training courses.
- *Increased obligations and stricter administration of job-activation courses and language and culture classes for unemployed immigrants.* The municipalities are responsible for this labour market integration, in cooperation with private enterprises.
- *Danish language learning.* A push for Danish language learning from the start for children and an end to funding for mother tongue education in state-run schools that are administrated by the municipalities.

¹⁰¹ For further references, see: Horst, 2004.

¹⁰² See Chapter 4 of the Law on Active Social Policy (*Lov om aktiv socialpolitik*). This law has subsequently gone through various amendments; in its present form, as part of the Ministry of Employment’s “Active Social Policy” (*Aktive socialpolitik*), it is inscribed in: Consolidated Act no. 1460, on the Law on Active Social Policy (*Lovbekendtgørelse af lov om aktiv socialpolitik*), of 12 December 2007. Text available (in Danish) at: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=127214&exp=1> (accessed 1 November 2010).

- *Integration.* Establishment, at the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, of a national team of integration experts, to assist local government bodies in implementing the policy.

The overall national trend is towards a neo-liberal workfare regime, with more stringent obligations to participate in labour market integration measures and lower benefit levels. If individuals, for one reason or another, cannot meet these obligations, their social benefits can be reduced or completely withdrawn.

The reduction in allowances to refugees has meant that, instead of being socially and culturally integrated into society, which the government emphasises that they should do as soon as possible, refugees have instead tended to become more isolated from the surrounding society.¹⁰³ For example, refugees and their children may not have the means to take part in social and cultural activities or sport, or to buy a birthday gift for a child's playmate or friend.¹⁰⁴

3.3 National Administrative Structures

Since 2007, Denmark has been divided into five regions,¹⁰⁵ each with its own regional council, and 98 municipalities, each with its own local authority (city council). Copenhagen Municipality has the highest population among the municipalities.¹⁰⁶

The five elected regional councils are responsible for the secondary health sector (including hospitals), the maintenance of some roads, and higher secondary educational institutions or colleges. The elected city councils have responsibility for policy concerning the labour market, housing, public schools and adult learning of the Danish language, maternity and primary childcare, and care centres for the elderly.

The Danish state administration and democracy has traditionally been built on the principles of decentralised local governance, with maximum autonomy for the municipal and regional bodies, combined with a complicated national financial

¹⁰³ The reduction in allowances was first introduced through Law no. 474 on the Integration of Foreigners in Denmark (*Integration af udlændinge i Danmark*), of 1 January 1999. For further details, see: M. Ejrnæs, *Integrationsloven – en case der illustrerer etnisk minoriteters usikre medborgerskab* (The Integration Law – a case that illustrates ethnic minorities' uncertain citizenship rights), AMID Working Paper Series no. 1, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2001. The introduction of the "Start-help" package reduced allowances even further. For further details, see: J. J. Nielsen, "Start hjælp skaber klienter" (The 'Start-help' package creates clients), in S. Dalager and P. S. Jørgensen (eds.), *Tid til respekt* (Time to respect), Socialpolitisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 2004.

¹⁰⁴ For further details, see also Section 8.1 of this report on health and social protection.

¹⁰⁵ These are: the Capital Region of Denmark (Region Hovedstaden), the Central Denmark Region (Region Midtjylland), the North Denmark Region (Region Nordjylland), the Zealand Region (Region Sjælland) and the Region of Southern Denmark (Region Syddanmark).

¹⁰⁶ See, for example: Danmark Statistiks, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Table 14.

redistribution system that ensures that poorer municipalities are compensated for having a weaker tax base than rich municipalities.

In a comparative perspective, Denmark is often regarded as a good model for how to combine a strong welfare state with a high level of local government decentralisation. Nonetheless, in areas such as policy measures related to immigrants (see above), this perception has changed significantly since 2001, with the formation of the new coalition Liberal-Conservative coalition government.¹⁰⁷

Since 2001, the new coalition government has increased its power over local governments. This includes, for example, by placing a ceiling on the levels of income tax that may be collected by the local governments, which in turn limits their social spending and services.¹⁰⁸

3.4 Copenhagen City Council

3.4.1 Administrative structure

Copenhagen is located in the Capital Region of Denmark (*Region Hovedstaden*), which includes 29 Municipalities, including Copenhagen. Copenhagen Municipality is, in turn, divided into 10 administrative districts (*bydele*), including Nørrebro District.¹⁰⁹

In Copenhagen Municipality, the local governing body is the Copenhagen City Council (*Københavns Borgerrepræsentationen*). The Council comprises 55 elected members and an administrative branch.¹¹⁰ Any resident of the city, regardless of nationality, who has a minimum of three – or in some cases four¹¹¹ – years legal residence in the country is eligible to vote and stand in elections for the Copenhagen

¹⁰⁷ The coalition was led by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who was Prime Minister of Denmark from 27 November 2001 to 5 April 2009.

¹⁰⁸ Danish Ministry of Finance, “Skattestoppets fortolkning og implementering” (Interpretation and implementation of the taxation cap), Danish Ministry of Finance, Copenhagen, 3 April 2002. Available on the website of the Danish Ministry of Taxation at: <http://www.skm.dk/publikationer/notater/592html> (accessed 1 December 2010).

¹⁰⁹ The other nine districts are: Copenhagen Centre (Indre By), Østerbro, Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave, Valby, Vanløse, Brønshøj-Husum, Bispebjerg, Amager Øst and Amager West. The total number of districts was reduced from 15 to 10 in 2007. Previously, Nørrebro had been split into two separate districts: Inner Nørrebro and Outer Nørrebro. See, for example, the website of the City of Copenhagen. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/english.aspx> (accessed 18 November 2010).

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the website of the City of Copenhagen. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/english.aspx> (accessed 18 November 2010).

¹¹¹ The period of four years is for immigrants coming from countries outside the European Union (EU)/European Economic Area (EEA). For further details, see Section 10.1 of this report on political participation.

City Council. There are currently five elected members who can be said to have a Muslim background.¹¹²

The Copenhagen City Council is made up of seven committees – the Finance Committee plus six standing committees, each with its own specialised field of responsibility.¹¹³ The Finance Committee is the overarching committee, responsible to coordinate and plan the overall management of the City. It is chaired by the Mayor and brings together the Chairs of each of the standing committees, plus six additional members of the council.

Integration policy (see below) is under the responsibility of the Employment and Integration Committee, with representation from the other committees.

Until 2009, there was also an Integration Council (*Integrationsrådet*),¹¹⁴ reporting to the Employment and Integration Committee, consisting of 23 members elected among and by ethnic minorities in the city.¹¹⁵ However, in 2010 a new Expert Think Tank on Integration was established to replace the Integration Council. This consists of 12 appointed experts who will give advice to the Council and participate in four annual public events held in relation to the Council's integration efforts. Prior to its replacement, there had been broad debate on the effectiveness of the Integration Council in relation to the integration process, and the democratic implication of replacing an elected board with appointed experts.¹¹⁶

The Employment and Integration Committee also cooperates with the Federation of Muslim Associations (*Muslimernes Fællesråd*) in matters and issues directly related to Muslim needs and concerns, and to get help from Muslims themselves in combating radicalisation trends among young Muslims.¹¹⁷ However, the former Minister for

¹¹² These are: Hamid El-Mousti; Ikram Sarwar; Sikandar Malik; Taner Yilmaz and Wallait Khan.

¹¹³ The other six committees are: the Culture and Leisure Committee; the Children and Youth Committee (Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen); the Health and Care Committee; the Social Services Committee; the Technical and Environmental Committee; and the Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen). See, for example, the website of the City of Copenhagen, available at: <http://www.kk.dk/english.aspx> (accessed 18 November 2010).

¹¹⁴ For further details on these advisory bodies, see Section 11.1 of this report on political participation.

¹¹⁵ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Integrationsrådet” (Integration Council). Available (in Danish) at: <http://www.kk.dk/PolitikOgIndflydelse/ByensStyre/SaerligeUdvalgOgRaad/Integrationsraadet.aspx> (accessed 29 October 2010).

¹¹⁶ Article by E. Haslund, “Integrationsråd skal afløses af tænketank” (Integration Council will be replaced by a Think Tank), in the daily newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*. Available at: <http://www.berlingske.dk/node/1412135> (accessed 30 October 2010).

¹¹⁷ The Federation of Muslim Associations (Muslimernes Fællesråd) is a federation of 13 Muslim associations. It was established in 2006 and represents around 30,000 members. For further details, see: <http://www.mfr.nu> (accessed 1 December 2010).

Welfare in the national government, Karen Jespersen, has criticised this cooperation and referred to the representatives of the federation as “extremists”.¹¹⁸

3.4.2 The Copenhagen Integration Policy (2007–2010)

Since the 1980s, there has been a trend in Denmark towards a negative portrayal of ethnic minorities in general, and Muslims in particular, in national media and political discourse.¹¹⁹ This has also, in turn, had its impact on ethnic relations at the local level. However, Copenhagen Municipality has tended to take a different approach to that of the national government and has adopted a more measured and pragmatic approach to integration issues at the local level.

The Copenhagen City Council has pursued a consistent local policy of integration. A first comprehensive integration policy was laid out in 2007 (hereafter, *Integration Policy 2007–2010*¹²⁰). The background for this initiative was recognition of the city’s increasing ethnic diversity over the previous decade. While the Council saw ethnic diversity as having “the potential to improve Copenhagen’s status as a large city in a constantly changing, diversified world”, it also recognised that, to a large extent, social problems in the city also had an ethnic dimension.¹²¹

The *Integration Policy (2007–2010)* policy paper found that, in areas such as housing, the labour market, school performance, level of education or crime, the problems and challenges were more acute when the focus was on immigrants as a group.¹²²

The paper noted, for example, that some of Copenhagen’s housing areas accommodate a high concentration of citizens on social benefits, and that these areas tend to be separated into immigrant-only and Danish-only areas, with little contact between the two. This creates obvious problems in terms of integration and solidarity.¹²³

Similarly, the paper observed that in some of the city’s kindergartens and schools, more than nine out of ten children are bilingual, which can be a barrier for interaction among individuals with different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. It also highlighted that far too many immigrant children were leaving primary and lower secondary schools without the qualifications they need to go on to complete upper secondary education or enter higher education.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Interview on 10 February 2008, in the daily newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*. The Minister subsequently resigned from the government in summer 2009.

¹¹⁹ For further details, see Section 3.1 on perception of Muslims in Denmark.

¹²⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*.

¹²¹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 5–7.

¹²² City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 5–7.

¹²³ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 5–7.

¹²⁴ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 5–7.

The paper also noted that, while crime statistics reveal that the vast majority of immigrants are law-abiding citizens, immigrants are nonetheless strongly over-represented in court cases.

The City Council viewed the new comprehensive integration policy as a means to challenge the problems presented in the policy paper. Here, integration is defined as follows:

Integration is a continuous process, by which a group with a different culture (including religion) adapts to and is accepted by a larger group, without the group being forced to adopt the culture of the majority.¹²⁵

According to the policy paper “adapting” here means, first and foremost, speaking, writing and understanding the Danish language, complying with the country’s laws, and showing respect for the majority’s customs and culture, including the rights of the individual. Being “accepted” here refers to the majority showing respect for the minority’s culture and traditions, as long as these do not contravene democracy and human rights, including the individual’s right to make his or her own decisions. The policy paper also refers to integration as a “dynamic process, out of which a new culture is created”.¹²⁶

The overall objective of the *Integration Policy (2007–2010)* is to establish “improved opportunities for all” by:

- fighting discrimination;
- ensuring that as many citizens as possible are capable of providing for themselves and their families;
- combating poverty and breaking the negative social heritage;
- preventing the division of the city into ethnically segregated communities; and
- promoting active citizenship.¹²⁷

To attain these objectives, the paper describes three main guiding principles:

- *Integration is a joint responsibility.* Joint responsibility means, for example, that the City Council must cooperate with relevant groups and individuals, and contribute to promoting a sense of responsibility among individuals and institutions for successful integration.
- *Integration requires diversity.* Diversity means that citizens are free to be different within their community. Diversity does not mean that different groups are

¹²⁵ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 5.

¹²⁶ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 5.

¹²⁷ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 7.

isolated in separated enclaves. Citizens of Copenhagen of all ethnic origins should meet one another where they live, in schools, at workplaces and in clubs and associations. In places where diversity cannot be achieved immediately, such as housing areas, kindergartens and schools, solutions to specific problems need to be identified and additional resources have to be allocated locally. Copenhagen has a special obligation to identify unconventional solutions.

- *Integration must be attractive.* The City of Copenhagen wants to make it attractive financially or in other ways for people, companies and associations to contribute to the integration process. It must also be made attractive for the municipal employees to improve their skills in relation to integration issues.¹²⁸

The paper includes a number of other specific goals, such as with respect to the reduction of unemployment, the prevention of crime, the improvement of healthcare facilities, and the provision of improved social services and leisure activities. It places emphasis on the need to tackle discrimination and ensure equal opportunities, and views labour market participation as central to combating poverty and isolation.

3.4.3 Impact of the Copenhagen Integration Policy in practice

The *Integration Policy (2007–2010)* comprises six main “pillars”: employment, education, housing, safety and security, culture and leisure, and health and social protection.¹²⁹ The impact of the policy in practice, in these different areas, is covered in Chapters 5–11 of this report.

In addition to initiatives to support the integration process in practice in these different social areas, the Copenhagen City Council has also taken steps to support the integration process through improved monitoring procedures. These include an annual survey, based on telephone interviews with more than 2,000 citizens.¹³⁰ Also an integration barometer (*Bydelsbarometer*), indicating progress within the different social areas in relation to the objectives set out in the policy paper.¹³¹ A new database has also been established of the measures and projects initiated or funded by the Council to support implementation of the integration policy.¹³²

The Council has also established an Integration Task Force that has organised workshops and disseminated knowledge and experience across the various projects and

¹²⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 8–9.

¹²⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*.

¹³⁰ Catinét Research, *Rapport 2010, Integrationstilstanden I Københavns Kommune* (2010 Report. Integration in the Municipality of Copenhagen), Catinét Research, Copenhagen, 2010.

¹³¹ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Bydelsbarometer” (Integration Barometer). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/integrationsbarometer.aspx> (accessed 29 October 2010).

¹³² Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Integrationsindsatser” (Integration Database). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Integrationsindsatser/SoegIIndsatser.aspx> (accessed 30 October 2010).

programmes. In addition, the Council has also launched a number of initiatives to document and fight discrimination in the city's public services and, more broadly, in the public sphere.

The Council also worked to create the Citizens Advice Service (*Borgerrådgiveren*) in Copenhagen to inform citizens of their rights. This includes a website where citizens are informed on their rights and are guided on access to legal support, and can report hate crimes or incidents of discrimination.¹³³ Between the launch of the webpage, in June 2008, and 3 September 2010, a total of 634 incidents were reported.¹³⁴ In July 2010 the Copenhagen Citizens Advice Service also published a report on discrimination in schools (see Section 5.1).

The Citizens Advice Service, in cooperation with the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR), has also taken on responsibility for implementing a campaign in Copenhagen focusing on the rights and legal remedies applicable in cases of discrimination. For example, while the Citizens Advice Service can guide and mediate in cases of discrimination involving a citizen and one of the city's public services, its mandate for intervention is more limited with respect to incidents relating to the private sector or the public sphere in general. To date, such counselling has mainly been handled by NGOs.

To strengthen antidiscrimination efforts, in 2010 the Copenhagen County Council supported the establishment of a network of Copenhagen-based NGOs (called *NGO Fællesinitiativet*¹³⁵) working to combat racism and discrimination. The network includes several NGOs engaged specifically in countering discrimination against Muslims. The NGOs aim to establish a "hotline", where victims of discrimination (across the different areas of discrimination, including age, gender, disability, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity) could more readily access qualified advice and support.

¹³³ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage "Diskrimination" (Discrimination). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/diskrimination.aspx> (accessed 30 October 2010).

¹³⁴ Email information from the Copenhagen Citizens Advice Service (Borgerrådgiveren) on 8 October 2010.

¹³⁵ Announcement for the first meeting in this NGO initiative, available at: http://www.kvinderaadet.dk/files/invitation_endelig.pdf (accessed 29 October 2010).

3.4.4 The draft new Copenhagen Integration Policy (2011–2014)

In August 2010, the Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration released a new draft *Integration Policy (2011–2014)* and invited feedback and comment by a wide range of citizens and civil society organisations.^{136,137} The Open Society Foundations was also invited to contribute, as an international partner.

Inclusion and citizenship is a core theme in the new draft policy paper, with three overall principles highlighted:

- diversity is a resource
- participation on an equal footing
- integration is a responsibility for all¹³⁸

The following four main focus areas are prioritised, with seven objectives listed for each focus area:

- youth and education
- diversity and equal opportunities on the labour market
- extra resources for vulnerable citizens
- an inclusive city¹³⁹

The draft policy report has since been debated at several smaller expert meetings and two major public meetings – one of them in Nørrebro District. At the large meetings, citizens, politicians and employees of the various integration services commented on the paper, and discussed and shared views. In a next step, the draft new policy paper will be further revised based on the feedback and recommendations generated by the meetings.

¹³⁶ City of Copenhagen, *IntegrationsNyt* (News on Integration), No 3, City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), October 2010, p.2, (hereafter City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*).

¹³⁷ The Open Society Foundations was informed, after the cutoff date of this report, that this new Integration Policy was adopted by Copenhagen City Council on 16 December 2010.

¹³⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*.

¹³⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*.

4. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: IDENTITY, BELONGING AND INTERACTION

Identity and belonging are important elements of integration.¹⁴⁰ While individuals may be integrated into the labour market and social networks, they may not identify with, or feel part of, the area, city or country in which they live. At the same time, the failure of public and social policy to acknowledge and respect important aspects of an individual's identity and sense of self can hinder integration.¹⁴¹ There is also growing recognition of the importance for cohesion of meaningful contact and interaction between people of different ethnic and cultural groups, as this helps overcome prejudice and challenges stereotypes.

This chapter provides a brief overview of recent initiatives in Copenhagen City relating to issues of identity, belonging and interaction. It also summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups.

4.1 Background: Policy and Practice in Copenhagen

The Copenhagen City Council has tended to take a different approach to integration issues than the national government. Since 2007, the Council has had an overall integration policy and has implemented a number of initiatives in support of the policy objectives.¹⁴² Similarly, the Council has also taken a different stance on issues relating to identity and belonging regarding the city's ethnic minority and Muslim inhabitants. The following are some recent examples.

In September 2010, the Copenhagen City Council approved district plans concerning the building of a mosque.¹⁴³ Under Danish legislation there are no specific rules concerning the construction of buildings for religious purposes, but all buildings must be approved as part of a district plan.¹⁴⁴ In the Copenhagen City Council, members of strongly anti-immigrant Danish Peoples Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF) voted against the

¹⁴⁰ See: F. Heckman, and W. Bosswick, *Integration and Integration Policies*, an INTPOL feasibility study for the IMISCOE Network of Excellence, IMISCOE, Amsterdam, 2005.

¹⁴¹ See: M. Malik, "Equality and Discrimination", in T. Choudhury (ed.), *Muslims in the UK: policies for Engaged Citizen*, Open Society Institute (OSI), Budapest, 2005.

¹⁴² For further details on this integration policy, see Section 3.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

¹⁴³ DR.DK article, "København godkender ny moske på Amager" (Copenhagen approves new mosque at Amager), 2nd September 2010. Available at: <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/kultur/2010/09/02/121023.htm> (accessed 31 October 2010).

¹⁴⁴ Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Udredning om lovgivning vedrørende finansiering af bedesteder i Danmark* (Statement concerning legislation in relation to financing of religious buildings in Denmark), (no reference number or date provided). Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/397A8C7C-A4FA-4225-A6A9-E648949A3C09/0/udredning_om_lovgivning_vedr_finansiering_af_bedesteder.pdf (accessed 31 October 2010).

plan, arguing that they did not want mosques in Denmark. During the debates, the DF argued several times that Muslims should not fully enjoy the right to practice their religion, on a par with other citizens. For example, a DF Member of Parliament, Martin Henriksen, who is also a Member of the Parliamentary Committee for Integration, wrote as follows:

There is no doubt that by far the most problems in relation to integration are caused by the volume of Muslim presence, various special religious considerations in the public sphere and Islamic fundamentalism, and it will remain like that for many years to come.¹⁴⁵

In September 2010 the major Muslim holiday, Eid ul-Fitr, was celebrated in several neighbourhoods in Copenhagen. In Nørrebro District, a church invited all local inhabitants to celebrate Eid ul-Fitr by participating in a dinner with dishes from all over the world. The World Culture Centre, also based in Nørrebro, arranged a major event at the square in front of the Danish Parliament, in the centre of Copenhagen.¹⁴⁶

At the same time, Members of Parliament from the Socialist Peoples Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*; SF) invited other Members to a dinner in the Parliament, to celebrate Eid ul-Fitr together with Muslim citizens. However, this event led to a heated debate in Parliament, with the DF encouraging other Members to boycott the event, arguing that ceremonies related to faiths other than Christianity should not be held in Parliament.¹⁴⁷

Finally, on 19 November 2010, a new exhibition on Copenhagen's immigration history, *Becoming a Citizen of Copenhagen* (*At blive københavnere*), will be launched at the Copenhagen City Museum (*Københavns Bymuseum*).¹⁴⁸

4.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

4.2.1 Religion and identity

The 100 Muslim respondents (50 men and 50 women) interviewed for the survey were all selected as being self-identified Muslims. All but one of these stated that they

¹⁴⁵ Martin Henriksen, *Problemet er ikke-vestlig indvandring* (The problem is non-Western Immigration), feature article in *Information*, 25 August 2010, p. 18. Available at: <http://www.information.dk/242627> (accessed 31 October 2010).

¹⁴⁶ Website of the World Culture Centre (Verdenskulturcentret), article "Eid på Slotspladsen" (Eid at Castle Square). Available at: <http://kubik.kk.dk/verdenskulturcentret/arrangementer/eid-pa-slotspladsen-2010> (accessed 31 October 2010).

¹⁴⁷ Website of the Danish Peoples Party (Dansk Folkeparti; DF), press release, "Stop Ramadan vanviddet" (Stop the madness around Ramadan). Available at: http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/DF_Stop_ramadan-vanviddet_.asp (accessed 31 October 2010).

¹⁴⁸ Article in the national daily newspaper, *Politiken*, by Niels Thorsen, "Da ghettoen kom til København" (When the ghetto came to Copenhagen), culture section, p. 10, 30 October 2010.

considered their religion to be Islam, and 62 responded that they were actively practising their religion (see Table 3 above, in Chapter 2.). Of the 50 Muslim women interviewed, 18 wore Arabian or Turkish headscarves (*hijab*) or a South Asian *dupatta* (a long scarf, also known as a *chadar* in Pakistan). However, the wearing of such headscarves cannot necessarily be interpreted as a sign of religious adherence. Only two of these women reported that they wore the *Hijab* as a religious obligation.

Of the 100 non-Muslim respondents (50 men and 50 women) interviewed for this survey, 45 indicated that they did not believe in any religion, while 36 considered themselves to be Christian (Protestant or Catholic). Only 24 of these respondents indicated that they practised their religion actively (see Table 3 in Chapter 1).

In the At Home in Europe Project survey, all respondents were asked to identify which factors “say something important” about who they are, when describing themselves to others (see Table 9 below).

Table 9. Which factors say something important about you?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Your family	70	48	118
Your interests	3	20	23
Your religion	17	1	18
The kind of work you do	3	11	14
Your age and life stage	0	12	12
Your social class	0	3	3
Your ethnic group or cultural background	3	0	3
Your level of education	2	1	3
Your gender	1	1	2
Your nationality	0	1	1
Any disability you may have	0	1	1
No response	1	1	2
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

For both Muslims (70 respondents) and non-Muslims (48 respondents), family emerged as by far the most important aspect of identity.

Yet the two groups differ significantly with regards to religion. While 17 Muslim respondents identified religion as an important factor, second only to family, this was the case for only one non-Muslim respondent. To put this finding into context, it should be noted that, on average, only 17-18 per cent of Muslims in Denmark attend Friday prayers at a mosque or prayer house.¹⁴⁹ This finding challenges the popular general conception that Muslims can place “too much” importance in religion.

A conspicuous result from the above survey data is that few of the Muslim respondents, who came from various ethno-national groups, regarded their ethnicity, culture or national origin as being as important as religion in terms of defining their self-identity. Similarly, work or profession also scored low.

Survey respondents were asked to indicate the frequency of their contacts with people from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds at their place of worship (see Table 10 below).

¹⁴⁹ See: L. Kühl, *Moskéer i Danmark* (Mosques in Denmark), Univers Publishers, Højebjerg, 2007. Also: Mikkelsen, 2008. An international survey by the Pew Research Center also resonates with these findings, namely that about 80 per cent of Muslims, internationally, do not strictly practice their faith or follow its prescribed rituals, such as prayers five times a day. See: the Pew Research Center, *The great divide. How Westerners and Muslims view each other*, the Pew Research Center, Washington, 22nd June 2006. Available at: <http://pewglobal.org/2006/06/22/the-great-divide-how-westerners-and-muslims-view-each-other/> (accessed 1 July 2010).

Table 10. How often do you have contact with people from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds in your place of worship?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Daily	8	2	10
At least weekly	24	4	28
At least monthly	9	4	13
At least once a year	8	8	16
Not at all	48	71	119
Don't know	1	2	3
No response	2	9	11
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The most common response to this question was that respondents had no contact with people from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds at their place of worship (48 Muslims and 71 non-Muslims). However, this would also include people who never (or only infrequently) attend a place of worship

Few Muslims reported encounters with people from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds at mosques or prayer houses. This may indicate that those Muslims who adhere to their faith and visit mosques on regular basis do not interact across the ethnic, national, or linguistic boundaries at their mosque.

4.2.2 Social cohesion

The survey included standardised questions that could be used to indirectly assess levels of social cohesion in the area being monitored. These include the following three indicators: levels of trust of people in the neighbourhood; belief that people in the neighbourhood are willing to help their neighbours; and belief that people in the neighbourhood share the same values.

Regarding the first indicator of social cohesion, it is interesting to note that, in Nørrebro, a majority of respondents (64 Muslims and 85 non-Muslims) believe that many or some people in the neighbourhood can be trusted (see Table 11 below).

However, a higher proportion of non-Muslims (47 respondents) than Muslims (19 respondents) indicated that *many* people from their neighbourhood could be trusted.

The language barrier could be a main factor in this finding, given that the overall majority (91 per cent) of the non-Muslims are native Danes. Some of these come from families that have resided in the neighbourhood over a number of generations, and who therefore have wide social networks of families and friends living in the neighbourhood.

Table 11. Can people in your neighbourhood be trusted/are they willing to help each other/do they share the same values?

Would you say that people in this neighbourhood:	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Can be trusted?	Many can be trusted	19	47	66
	Some can be trusted	45	38	83
	A few can be trusted	23	9	32
	None can be trusted	11	3	14
	No response	2	3	5
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) Are willing to help each other?	Strongly agree	17	24	41
	Agree	61	53	114
	Disagree	14	11	25
	Strongly disagree	5	3	8
	Don't know	3	9	12
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(3) Share the same values?	Strongly agree	2	1	3
	Agree	44	28	72
	Disagree	34	42	76
	Strongly disagree	7	16	23
	Don't know	13	13	26
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Regarding the second indicator of social cohesion, an overwhelming majority of both Muslims (78 respondents) and non-Muslims (77 respondents) either agreed or strongly agreed with the premise that people in the neighbourhood are willing to help each other. By contrast, 19 Muslims and 14 non-Muslims disagreed with this premise.

This result can be interpreted as a sign of good social cohesion and solidarity in the area. The fact that there was no significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in this regard would also appear to indicate that respondents feel that people living around them share similar values.

Yet when specifically asked about common values – the third indicator of social cohesion – the results were more divided (see Table 11 above). A majority of non-Muslims (58 respondents) believed that people living in their neighbourhood did *not* share the same values. By contrast, only 41 Muslims were of this view.

The responses to this question need to be framed against the national debate in Denmark, which has, over at least the past decade, been full of references to “our values” (Danish, Christian, Western) versus “their values” (Muslim, Islamic, Arabic and so on).¹⁵⁰ This debate on values may well have impacted on the responses of both groups to this question, with Muslims potentially more on the defensive with regards to the issue of value differences. It is also plausible to assume that for some Muslim respondents, among whom the literacy rate is lower than for non-Muslims, this was perhaps too abstract a question to reflect on in an interview situation.

Nonetheless, despite this difference between Muslims and non-Muslims regarding their perception of common values, the overall impression from the survey results for the other indicators on social cohesion is that, at the local level, there is a greater sense of mutual acceptance than social distance between the two groups. Moreover, both groups gave similar responses when asked to evaluate the characteristic values of Danish society, at the national level (see below).

4.2.3 Tolerance and interaction across ethnic and religious lines

In one survey multiple choice question, respondents were asked to rank the “important values for living in this country” – that is, the values that people consider most important in Denmark (see Table 12 below).

¹⁵⁰ For further details, see Section 3.1 of this report on perception of Muslims in Denmark. For more on the political debates in Parliament on the issue of values, see: Jacobson, 2009.

Table 12. What are the most important national values of living in Denmark?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Respect for the law	63	37	100
Tolerance towards others	21	45	66
Freedom of speech and expression	6	13	19
Respect for all faiths	5	0	5
Speaking the national language	3	0	3
Other responses	2	3	5
No response	0	2	2
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims placed greatest importance on the values of respect for the law and tolerance towards others. However, it is interesting that a higher proportion of non-Muslims (45 respondents) emphasised tolerance towards others than did Muslims (21 respondents).

It is quite difficult to draw a general conclusion from these responses. However, although this question is about values at the national level, it is clear that respondents are also drawing on their day-to-day life experiences at the local level (neighbourhood and surrounding communities). The fact almost half of non-Muslims select tolerance towards others as an important Danish value, while only a fifth of Muslims shared this view, is indicative that the nature of the ongoing political debate on Muslim integration at the national level has had a negative impact on Muslims' perception of tolerance as a Danish value.¹⁵¹ This conclusion is further substantiated by the results of the focus groups.¹⁵²

Survey respondents were also asked if people from different backgrounds generally got on well together in Nørrebro (see Table 13 below).

¹⁵¹ For further details, see Section 3.1 of this report on perception of Muslims in Denmark.

¹⁵² There was criticism of growing intolerance against Muslims in Denmark from the participants in four of the focus groups: Group A (interviewed on education and employment; men and women aged 16-45); Group B (interviewed on health and social services; men aged 16-45); Group C (interviewed on policing, civil and political participation; men and women aged 16-45); and Group E (interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city; men aged 45 and over).

Table 13. Is your local area a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Agree, to a large extent	20	19	39
Agree	49	59	108
Do not agree	18	9	27
Strongly disagree	6	4	10
Don't know / No response	4	8	12
Only a few people are from other backgrounds in this area	2	0	2
No response	1	1	2
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The majority of respondents (69 Muslims and 78 non-Muslims) agreed that people from different backgrounds could get along well together in their local area.

These results challenge the popular perception, prevalent in national political and media discourse, that some residential areas in Denmark, including Nørrebro, are developing into isolated “ethnic enclaves” and resulting in a “parallel society” – with Muslims implicitly held responsible for their isolation from the wider society and their lack of will to integrate into wider society.¹⁵³

Respondents were also asked to provide more detail on how often, and where, they met with people (1) from another ethnic background than their own and (2) from another religious group than their own. The results for some of the locations with the most frequent reported interactions are shown below in Table 14.¹⁵⁴ These data should not, however, be interpreted as necessarily implying interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims, specifically.

¹⁵³ See, for example, Section 9.1 of this report on policing and security.

¹⁵⁴ The other locations were: in a place of worship (results displayed in Table 10); in a bar/club; in a café/restaurant; during a sport/leisure activity; socially, outside work/ school; in a community centre; in a health clinic/centre; on public transport; in a park/outdoor space; at a youth club; or at a neighbourhood group.

Table 14. How often do you meet with people from another ethnic background/religious group than your own?

How often do you meet with people:	Location*	Number of interviewees – for each location						
		Daily	Weekly	At least monthly	Once a year / Not at all**	Don't know/ No response*	Total	
(1) From another ethnic background than your own?	Muslims	At your/their home	20	14	20	44	2	100
		At work, school or college	71	5	3	21	0	100
		At shops and markets	39	28	9	20	4	100
		At schools, crèches and nurseries	26	6	11	52	5	100
	Non-Muslims	At your/their home	12	15	19	49	5	100
		At work, school or college	45	20	8	23	4	100
		At shops and markets	39	23	22	11	5	100
		At schools, crèches or nurseries	8	8	8	63	13	100
(2) From another religious group than your own?	Muslims	At your/their home	15	13	16	53	3	100
		At work, school or college	67	5	3	25	0	100
		At shops and markets	41	16	8	31	4	100
		At schools, crèches or nurseries	23	7	10	56	4	100
	Non-Muslims	At your/their home	14	18	20	43	5	100
		At work, school or college	38	14	14	30	4	100
		At shops and markets	38	21	21	12	8	100
		At schools, crèches or nurseries	8	8	8	63	13	100

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Notes: *Locations with the most frequent reported interactions.

**The responses for these two questions have been summed.

The results indicate that the most frequent interaction across ethnic groups takes place at work, school or college, with 76 Muslims and 65 non-Muslims reporting daily or weekly interactions in these locations. The next most frequent location was at shops

and markets, where 57 Muslims and 60 non-Muslims reported daily or weekly interactions with people from another ethnic background than their own.

To be more specific on interfaith relations, the respondents were also asked to report how often they met and talked with people from a different religious background than their own. For Muslims, the most frequent daily or weekly interactions with people from another religious background were again reported at workplaces, schools and colleges (72 respondents), followed by shops and markets (57 respondents). For non-Muslims, the most frequent daily or weekly interactions with people from another religious background were reported at shops and markets (59 respondents), followed by workplaces, schools and colleges (52 respondents).

These patterns of social interaction are, however, influenced by factors such as gender, age and education. For example, many older Muslim women who have difficulties in communicating in Danish have no such interactions, while younger Muslims attending schools and colleges have frequent encounters across ethnic or religious boundaries. Likewise, Muslim school teachers or kindergarten employees tend to have more contact with native Danish families than do owners of grocery shops or kiosks.¹⁵⁵

These results highlight the genuinely multiethnic nature of everyday life in Nørrebro, with both Muslims and non-Muslims reporting frequent daily and weekly interactions with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds than their own.

Another tentative conclusion from these results is that it is not religion *per se* that may hamper social interaction at the local (neighbourhood) level between people with different ethnic identities, but rather other factors such as language barriers, common interests and social standing.

This conclusion is also supported by the feedback provided by the survey respondents when they responded to questions about what prevents people from different backgrounds from getting along with each other (see Table 15 below).

¹⁵⁵ Conclusions from a detailed cross-tabulation of the results from Table 14, broken down further by factors such as age and gender.

Table 15. What prevents people from interacting across ethnic lines?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Lack of cultural understanding	30	25	55
Lack of language skills	20	13	33
Prejudice and discrimination	12	19	31
Religious and political beliefs/differences	5	7	12
Educational and social class differences	4	7	11
Crime	3	7	10
Media coverage	2	1	3
Other	3	1	4
Total (number of responses**)	79	80	159

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

**For this question, some respondents gave more than one reason why people do not interact across ethnic lines, while others (8 Muslims and 18 non-Muslims) did not answer this question.

Both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents identified common barriers to people getting on well together in their neighbourhoods. A lack of cultural understanding was identified by both Muslims (30 responses) and non-Muslims (25 responses) as the most important barrier.

This point was also made during one of the focus group sessions. Here, some participants, including the one quoted below, expressed the view that it was relatively difficult to socialise with Danes,

[...] we say our *salaam* [Islamic greetings] to each other; we sit together. But the Danish are a people who, to a large extent, keep themselves to themselves; they do not integrate with others, or at least, very rarely and with great difficulty. Even if you live in the same building with them for 25 years, unless you greet them, they will not be the first to greet you.¹⁵⁶

Lack of language skills, and prejudice and discrimination, were also cited as important barriers (see table above). Surprisingly, perhaps, Muslim respondents placed lack of

¹⁵⁶ Participant from Focus Group D (Women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

language skills second ahead of discrimination and prejudice, while for non-Muslims the order was reversed.

Also of note from these results is that relatively few respondents identified crime or violence as a barrier to people getting on well together in their neighbourhood. This is despite the fact that, during the period of monitoring, Nørrebro witnessed some of the most dramatic incidents in Denmark of violent confrontation between the police and young people from (mainly Muslim) minority ethnic groups.¹⁵⁷

4.2.4 Identity and belonging

The survey also explored feelings of belonging – at the local, city and national levels (see Table 16 below).

¹⁵⁷ For further details, see Chapter 9 of this report on policing and security.

Table 16. How strongly do you feel you belong in the local area/city/and country?

How strongly do you feel you belong in:	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Your local area (Nørrebro)?	Very strongly	38	33	71
	Fairly strongly	42	48	90
	Not very strongly	17	15	32
	Not at all strongly	1	3	4
	Don't know	2	0	2
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) The city of Copenhagen?	Very strongly	47	47	94
	Fairly strongly	34	39	73
	Not very strongly	17	12	29
	Not at all strongly	0	0	0
	Don't know	2	1	3
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(3) Denmark?	Very strongly	32	46	78
	Fairly strongly	41	27	68
	Not very strongly	19	19	38
	Not at all strongly	6	4	10
	Don't know	2	3	5
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey revealed that a high proportion of both Muslims (80 respondents) and non-Muslims (81 respondents) felt a very strong or fairly strong sense of belonging to their local area (Nørrebro).

The results were similar at the city level, with a high proportion of both Muslims (81 respondents) and non-Muslims (86 respondents) reporting a very strong or fairly strong sense of belonging to Copenhagen

At the national level, a similar proportion of Muslims (74 respondents) and non-Muslims (73 respondents) indicated that they felt a very or fairly strong sense of belonging to Denmark. A further 25 Muslim and 23 non-Muslim respondents indicated that they felt not very, or not at all, strongly belonging in Denmark. However, further analysis of the data reveals that almost all of these responses from non-Muslims were from individuals who are ethnically not Danish, namely immigrants from other countries.

Another important aspect of identity and belonging can be assessed by not only asking respondents how they view themselves, but also how they would like themselves to be viewed by the surrounding society (see Table 17 below).

Table 17. Do you see yourself as Danish / Do others see you as Danish / Do you want to be seen by others as Danish?

Question	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Do you see yourself as Danish?	Yes	38	87	125
	No	58	11	69
	No response	4	2	6
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) Do others see you as Danish?	Yes	14	85	99
	No	80	13	93
	No response	6	2	8
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(3) Do you want to be seen by others as Danish?	Yes	51	76	127
	No	47	21	68
	No response	2	3	5
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Only 38 Muslims reported that they considered themselves to be Danish, while the majority (58 respondents) indicated that they did not. It should be noted, however, that a high proportion (50 per cent) of the Muslim respondents are naturalised Danish citizens. The response of non-Muslims was obviously higher, with 87 respondents viewing themselves as Danish.

Finally, survey respondents were asked to identify the most important barriers to being considered as Danish (see Table 18. below).

Table 18. What do you think are the main barriers to being Danish?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Not speaking Danish	30	46	76
Being from an ethnic minority/not being white	24	13	37
Being born abroad	9	5	14
Not being Christian	9	2	11
Accent/way of speaking	4	2	6
There aren't any barriers	2	4	6
None of these	0	5	5
Other	14	19	33
Don't know / No response	8	4	12
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

Both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents identified a lack of proficiency in the Danish language as being the most important barrier to being seen as Danish. However, a far greater proportion of non-Muslims (46 respondents) regarded this as the *main* obstacle, as compared to Muslims (30 respondents).

Being a non-white minority member was the second most important barrier to being seen as Danish selected by Muslims (24 respondents). Other research indicates that fair-skinned Bosnian Muslims in Denmark complain far less about discrimination than do other Muslim groups or communities.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ This observation is based on a range of periodic telephonic surveys, carried out in the first six months of 2004 and 2005, respectively, by the private firm, Catinét, Copenhagen. See: Catinét Research. *IntegrationStatus (2004; 2005) 1. halvår* (Status of integration (2004; 2005): First half year reports), Catinét Research, Copenhagen, 2005, (hereafter Catinét Research, *IntegrationStatus (2004; 2005)*). See also: B. Møller and L. Togeby, *Oplevet Diskrimination* (The Experienced Discrimination), the Board for Ethnic Equality, Copenhagen, 1999 (hereafter Møller and Togeby, 1999).

5. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EDUCATION

Education, especially in schools, is one of the most important pillars of integration. The education system provides individuals with the skills and qualifications they require for participation in the labour market. It also plays a formative role in the socialisation of young people in the unspoken rules and values of society. The ways in which schools respond to and respect the needs of Muslim pupils are likely to shape these pupils' feelings of acceptance and belonging to the wider Danish society. Schools also contribute to integration by providing opportunities for interaction between pupils and parents of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

5.1 Background

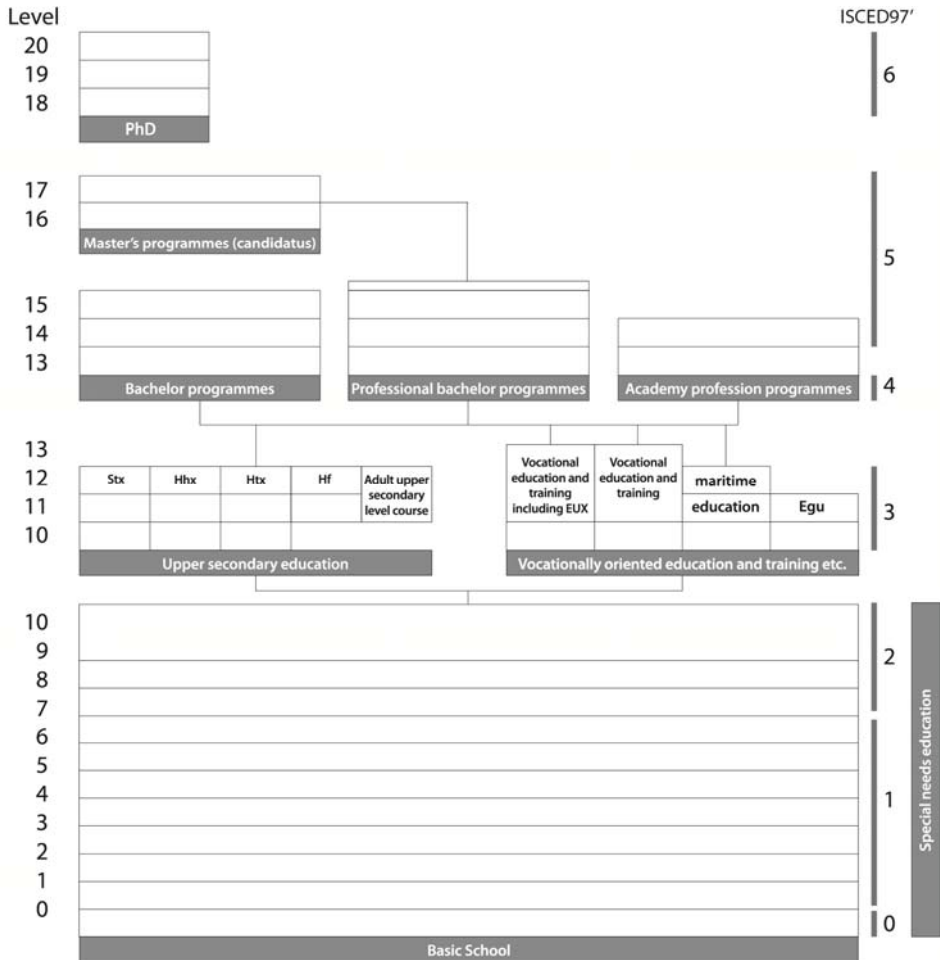
This section (5.1) draws on information from recent studies and reports on the education of ethnic minority children, as well as interviews with educational experts in Copenhagen. It is divided into two sub-sections: national legislation and policy (5.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (5.1.2). The following section (5.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups.

5.1.1 National research findings

The Danish education system

In Denmark, most children, including those from ethnic minorities, attend preschool (Grade 0) – nursery school (*vuggestue*) from age 1-3 and kindergarten (*børnehave*) from age 3-6.

As shown below in Figure 1, there are three stages in the Danish mainstream education system: compulsory education, youth education and higher education.

Figure 1. The Danish mainstream education system

Source: Danish Ministry of Education website.¹⁵⁹

In Denmark, education is compulsory for 10 years from age six. For compulsory education, parents can choose between sending their children to public (state-run) municipal schools (*Folkeskoler*), which are free of charge, or to private (so-called free) schools, which charge a moderate fee. *Folkeskolen* covers both primary education (Grades 1-6) and lower secondary education (Grades 7-10). Lower secondary education includes an optional Grade 10 for those pupils who need to improve their

¹⁵⁹ Website of the Danish Ministry of Education, webpage "Overview of the Danish Education System" (hereafter Ministry of Education, *Education Overview*). Available at: <http://eng.uvm.dk/Uddannelse/Education%20system.aspx> (accessed 31 December 2010).

basic skills and who would benefit from an extra year to make a decision regarding their subsequent educational options.

Youth education comprises education at the upper secondary level. Students must complete compulsory education to be eligible to continue in a youth education programme. These are divided into the following two overall categories (with additional sub-divisions):

- Academically oriented general and vocational upper secondary education programmes. There are four different *gymnasium* tracks (see Figure 1 above). General education is provided by the STX and HF programmes, business-oriented education by the HHX programme and technically-oriented education by the HTX programme.
- Vocational education and training (VET) programmes are provided in VET colleges.¹⁶⁰

At the higher education level, all educational establishments are state-run and education is free of charge for all legally-registered residents. Higher education comprises the following main options:

- The university sector. This offers research-based programmes at undergraduate and postgraduate level: three-year Bachelors degrees, two-year Masters degrees (*Candidatus*), and three-year Doctorates (PhD).
- Other higher education establishments. These offer short-cycle Academy Profession programmes and medium-cycle Diploma and Professional Bachelor programmes (2-4 years duration).¹⁶¹

National legislation provides the overall framework for education. Schools providing primary and lower secondary level education (*Folkeskoler*) are managed and owned by the municipalities, but operate on the basis of national legislation (*Folkeskoleloven*), concerning areas such as the curriculum and minimum number of lessons.¹⁶² Upper secondary and VET schools are self-governing establishments that refer to the Ministry of Education. Higher education establishments are self-governing, under the authority of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, or the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

Statistical data on education

Danish law prohibits the registration of its citizens on the basis of their religion and ethnicity. This means that there are no reliable statistics on the exact number of pupils

¹⁶⁰ Ministry of Education, *Education Overview*.

¹⁶¹ Ministry of Education, *Education Overview*.

¹⁶² Law no. 1195, the Act on *Folkeskole* (*Folkeskoleloven*), of 30 November 2006, (hereafter *Folkeskole Act*), Article 4a(2). Available (in Danish) at: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/forms/r0710.aspx?id=133039> (accessed 12 October 2010).

with a Muslim background attending state-run public schools or higher education establishments.

However, a number of independent reports and field studies, along with various documents prepared by the educational authorities, think tanks and ministries, do provide a profile of Muslims in education and vocational education (see below).

In the absence of data on ethnicity or religion, language has become a proxy indicator for children with a minority background. Data are available for numbers of “bilingual” pupils, who are defined as “children who have another mother tongue than Danish, and who, through contact with surrounding society or in school, learn Danish”.¹⁶³ In 2007/2008, of the total 690,000 students in primary and lower secondary schools, approximately 69,000 (10.3 per cent) were bilingual.¹⁶⁴

Until 2002, education statistics on bilingual pupils were collected through the Ministry of Education because it was mandatory for all municipalities to provide education in the mother tongue for these pupils, up to the lower secondary level. However, in 2002 the law was changed to make this optional for the municipalities, so these statistics are no longer collected by those municipalities that no longer provide education in the mother tongue (see below).

Until 2007/2008, the Ministry of Education still collected available data from schools on the number of bilingual students. However, subsequently the Ministry of Education has no longer published information on the number of bilingual students, but instead on the number of students defined as “immigrants or descendents”.

Since 2007, the official national statistics bureau, Statistics Denmark (*Danmark Statistiks*), has collected data, at the national level, on bilingual children attending public schools.¹⁶⁵

National policy on the education of bilingual pupils

All parents are offered a language test when their child reaches age three. If this test reveals a need for language stimulation, and the child does not already attend a kindergarten, the child can attend “language groups” for 15 hours a week over a period of 40 weeks. According to the law, attendance of such groups is voluntary. However, in a pamphlet provided by the Copenhagen City Council, parents are informed that they

¹⁶³ *Folkeskole Act*, Article 4a(2).

¹⁶⁴ UNI-C Statistik og Analyse, *Elevernes herkomst i grundskolen i 2008/2009* (Students origin in primary and lower secondary schools), UNI-C Statistik og Analyse (Uni-C Statistics and Analysis), Copenhagen, 4 September 2009, p. 3. Available at: <http://www.uvm.dk/-/media/Files/Stat/Folkeskolen/PDF09/090914%20herkomst.ashx> (accessed 31 December 2010).

¹⁶⁵ Further details available (in Danish) on the website of the Danish Ministry of Education at: <http://www.uvm.dk/Uddannelse/Folkeskolen/Tosprogede.aspx> (accessed 11 December 2010). See also: OECD, 2010, p.13.

will be reported to the social authorities if they do not accept this “offer”, in cases where a need for language stimulation has been identified through a language test.¹⁶⁶

For pupils in compulsory education, national legislation (*Folkeskoleloven*) allows local schools to organise additional instruction in Danish as a second language.¹⁶⁷ However, as there are currently no national standards on aspects such as the number of hours of lessons to be provided, language support tends to depend in practice on factors such as:

- teachers’ qualifications and ability to identify students’ needs;
- the economic priority placed by the municipality on second language instruction; and
- the priority placed by the individual school on second language instruction, in their daily practice.¹⁶⁸

There are also no special references in national legislation (*Folkeskolen*) on intercultural education.

From 1975 to 2002, it was mandatory for all municipalities to offer mother tongue language instruction to all bilingual students in compulsory education (up to Grade 9), as an extra-curricular activity. However, a new amendment in 2002 abolished central government subsidies for mother tongue instruction, with the exception of children whose parents are from the countries of the European Union (EU) or European Economic Space (EES), or from Greenland or the Faroe Islands.¹⁶⁹

This change meant that, of the total 69,000 bilingual students identified at this time, approximately 62,000 students of so-called third country origin (namely, those not

¹⁶⁶ City of Copenhagen, *Sprogstimulering. Uden for dagtilbud* (Language stimulation outside kindergartens and nurseries), Children and Youth Committee (Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen), Copenhagen City Council (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2010, p. 3. Available at: <http://www.tosprogede.kk.dk/upload/sm%C3%A5b%C3%B8rn/information%20sprogstimulering%20uden%20for%20dagtilbud.pdf> (accessed 1 December 2010).

¹⁶⁷ Note: this report focuses specifically on municipal schools (*Folkeskole*).

¹⁶⁸ J. Saarup *et al.*, *Evaluering af dansk som andetsprog i folkeskolen* (Evaluation of Danish as a second language in public schools), CVU København og Nordsjælland (University Colleges Copenhagen), 2004, (hereafter Saarup *et al.*, 2004). Available (in Danish) at: http://www.uvm.dk/-/media/Files/Udd/Folke/PDF08/E/040601_eva_dansk_som_andetsprog_folkeskolen.ashx (accessed 13 October 2010).

¹⁶⁹ Christian Horst, “Retten til modersmål”, (The right to mother tongue instruction), in Christian Horst (ed.), *Interkulturel pædagogik* (Intercultural pedagogy), Kroghs Forlag, Veile, 2006.

from the EU/EES, Greenland or the Faroe Islands) lost their previous right to develop their mother tongue, as an integral part of the public educational system.¹⁷⁰

Since 2002, it has been left to the individual municipalities to decide whether students of “third country origin” should be offered instruction in their mother tongue, on a par with that offered to children from EU/EES countries. As of 2008, only five municipalities (out of a total of 98) offered such instruction.¹⁷¹ This includes Copenhagen Municipality, which provides free instruction up to Grade 6. From Grade 6 on, pupils need to pay for this instruction.

As a result of this legislative change, there has been a strong decline in the development of bilingual competences among minority students in Denmark. In 1997, 41 per cent of minority students took part in publicly financed mother tongue instruction, but by 2008 this had fallen to just 7 per cent.¹⁷²

National evaluations in 2004 and 2007 also revealed that less than half of bilingual students were offered lessons in Danish as a second language, and only 20 per cent of language teachers were formally qualified to teach Danish as a second language.¹⁷³

In 2005, the government passed new legislation relating Danish language proficiency to the forced dispersal (“bussing”) of ethnic minority students.¹⁷⁴ This new amendment gave local authorities the right to obligatorily disperse ethnic minority pupils to schools other than their district schools, if the local authorities could argue that the child’s language proficiency in Danish justified referral to a school with more Danish speaking students. Until then, local authorities had been hindered in applying the forced dispersal of ethnic minority students in practice, with reference to equal

¹⁷⁰ L. Timm, *Danmark har ondt i modersmålset – en kortlægning af kommunernes modersmålsundervisning i skoleåret 2007/2008* (Denmark–mother tongue instruction is suffering–A survey of the municipalities’ mother tongue language instruction in the school year 2007–2008), Documentary and Advisory Centre on Race Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), Copenhagen, 2008, (hereafter Timm, 2008).

¹⁷¹ Timm, 2008.

¹⁷² Timm, 2008.

¹⁷³ Saarup *et al.*, 2010. Also: EVA, *Undervisning af tosprogede elever. Evaluering* (Education of bilingual students. An evaluation), the Danish Evaluation Institute (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut; EVA), Copenhagen, 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Danish Ministry of Education, Law no. 594, Law amending the Law on *Folkeskolen* – A Stronger emphasis on teaching Danish as a second language, hereunder the possibility to refer bilingual students to another school than the district school (*Lov om ændring af lov om folkeskolen. Styrket undervisning i dansk som andetsprog, herunder udvidet adgang til at henvise tosprogede elever til anden skole end distriktsskolen*), of 24 June 2005. Further details available (in Danish) at: http://www.retsinfo.dk/_GETDOC/_ACCN/200421L00135-LOVF (accessed 17 November 2010).

treatment as defined in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the UN Conventions.¹⁷⁵

In Copenhagen Municipality, there have instead been initiatives aimed at encouraging parents to voluntarily transfer their child to a school with a lower proportion of ethnic minority children, often in a neighbouring district (see below).

According to language experts, the 2005 amendment¹⁷⁶ is based on a “common sense” approach to language learning – namely, that Danish as a second language can be learned by minority students just by being together with ethnic majority students – and is not sufficiently related to pedagogical theory concerning second language development.¹⁷⁷

A 2006 research study looks at the development in state provision for the teaching of bilingual students over the last 30 years.¹⁷⁸ This study highlights that, instead of including in the national curriculum knowledge gained from research and development programmes concerning the education of bilingual students, the Ministry of Education has instead chosen to focus on how to socialise bilingual students and their parents to become Danish. It also finds that, even in periods when government policy had favoured the development of bilingualism, in practice the monolingual policy had continued. A central finding is that political decisions aimed at improving the teaching of bilingual students have either never been implemented in practice, or have been implemented within a different framework, and with other procedures than the rest of the curriculum. In practice, this meant as little second language learning and mother

¹⁷⁵ For example, in 2005 the Complaints Committee for Equal Treatment decided that (with reference to the UN’s International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), Article 3) such a practice in the Municipality of Albertslund, near Copenhagen, was a case of direct discrimination. See: Website of the Board of Equal Treatment (*Ligebehandlingsnævnet*), “Klagekomitéens udtalelse nr. 51/2005” (Decision no. 51/2005). Available at: <http://www.ligebehandlingsnaevnet.dk/naevnsdatabase/afgoerelse.aspx?aid=477&type=Resume> (accessed 31 December 2010).

¹⁷⁶ Danish Ministry of Education, L135, *Uddannelsesudvalget (2. samling, Appendix 1, Offentligt, Høringsresume, p.p. 2 and 7* (Education Committee, 2nd. Parliamentary Session, Annex 1, Published, Summary of hearing comments (comments from NGOs and others to the amendment)), March 2005, pp. 4, 5, 7, 10 and 12.

¹⁷⁷ For references on pedagogical theory, see for example: T. Hetmar, *Tosproget elever – en undervisning i udvikling (Bilingual pupils – teaching methods under development)*, the Danish Royal School of Education, Copenhagen, 1991. Also: A. Holmen, *Tosprogede elevers tekstkompetencer (Bilingual pupils’ text competences)*, conference report from the Nordic Network of Text and Literature Pedagogy, Council of the Nordic Ministers, Copenhagen, 2001; and A., J. Holmen, Østergaard Nielsen, K. Lund (eds.), *På Sporet – en antologi om undervisning i dansk som andetsprog* (On the tracks—an anthology on the teaching of Danish as a second language), Directorate of Education, Ministry of Education, Copenhagen, 1999.

¹⁷⁸ B. S. Kristjánsdóttir, *Evas skjulte børn – diskurser om tosprogede børn i det danske nationalcurriculum*, (Eva’s hidden children – discourses on bilingual children in the Danish national curriculum), The Danish University of Education, DPU, 2006, (hereafter Kristjánsdóttir, 2006).

tongue teaching as possible, for as few children as possible, separated from the mainstream curriculum.

By contrast, a national survey (2008) on parents' views on mother tongue instruction revealed that parents felt that mother tongue instruction helped them to bring up their children as democratic citizens in Denmark.¹⁷⁹ In developing their mother tongue through professional language instruction, their children were able to develop a necessary self-esteem as bilingual and multicultural citizens. The children benefited in school from being proficient bilingual speakers, while their parents also regarded bilingualism as an asset for their children's future educational and employment prospects. Furthermore, parents also found it important that this made it possible for their children to communicate with grandparents and other family members worldwide.

Educational attainment

A number of reports provide an overview of the educational attainment of ethnic minorities in Denmark and, to a certain extent, general trends in educational choice among the descendants of migrant families.

These include reports by the (former) EUMC RAXEN programme, including those of the National Focal Point for Denmark (2004 and 2005).¹⁸⁰ Also, reports from the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, and its think tank, (2005 and 2006),¹⁸¹ the Danish Institute of Governmental Research (*Anvendt Kommunal Forskning*; AKF),¹⁸² and Uni-C Statistik og Analyse (2005).¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Timm, 2008.

¹⁸⁰ See: National Focal Point for Denmark, *Report on Education*, Documentary and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), Copenhagen, 2004 (hereafter National Focal Point for Denmark, 2004 Report); and National Focal Point for Denmark, *National Annual Report*, Documentary and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), Copenhagen, 2005.

¹⁸¹ See, for example: Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2005 Yearbook. Also: Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Udlandinge på ungdomsuddannelserne – frafald og faglige kundskaber* (Foreigners in the higher secondary schools – drop-out rates and educational proficiency), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Think tank report, Copenhagen, 2005 (hereafter Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2005 Think tank report). Also: Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Udviklingen i udlandinges integration i det danske samfund* (Integration trends for foreigners in Danish society), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), think tank, Copenhagen, June 2006 (hereafter Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2006 Think tank Report). Also, the information on public schools available on the website of the Danish Ministry of Education. Available (in Danish) at: <http://www.uvm.dk/uddannelse/Folkeskolen.aspx> (accessed 10 December 2010).

¹⁸² AKF, *Udlandinges vej gennem uddannelsessystemet* (Foreigners in the educational system), Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 2004.

The international OECD PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) surveys (2003, 2004 and 2010) are also an important source of data.¹⁸⁴ The 2003 PISA report was based on a survey of a very small population of bilingual students, but was nonetheless the first report to really document the performance gap between ethnic minority and ethnic majority students in Denmark.

A main conclusion from all these studies is that, in comparison with native Danes, minority pupils are in a disadvantageous position in the education system. For example, it is recognised that drop-out rates remain higher for children from ethnic minorities in higher education.¹⁸⁵ The studies point to a variety of reasons for this situation, and do not put this down exclusively to the pupil's cultural background, which is the dominant narrative found in Danish political and media discourse.

It is recognised that immigrants and their descendents from “non-Western” countries are in a particularly disadvantageous position in education and often lack skills in the Danish language. However, a main conclusion from one interview-based survey (2001)¹⁸⁶ is that this is not a homogenous group with respect to educational attainment – a conclusion that also applies to Muslims as a group. For example, the survey found that immigrants and their descendents with origins in Iran were the most highly educated, while those with origins in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia were the least highly educated. Similarly, those with origins in Iran and Pakistan were more active in higher education than those with origins in Turkey or Somalia, for example.¹⁸⁷

According to the 2005 National Focal Point for Denmark report, the low performance and higher drop-out rates among minority children in Denmark can be explained by at least six different factors:¹⁸⁸

- Lack of proficiency in Danish and poor qualifications (including unsatisfactory exam results) from primary schools.

¹⁸³ Uni-C collects all types of educational data. Uni-C Statistik og Analyse, *Statistikinformation* (Statistical Information), Uni-C Statistik og Analyse (Uni-C Statistics and Analysis), Copenhagen, 2005. Available at: <http://www.statistik.uni-c.dk> (accessed 1st July 2010).

¹⁸⁴ OECD, 2010.

¹⁸⁵ See, for example: Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2005 Think-tank report*. This study is also referred to in: City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁶ F. Mikkelsen, *Integrations Paradoks* (The Paradox of Integration), Catenét, Copenhagen, 2001, (hereafter Mikkelsen, 2001).

¹⁸⁷ Mikkelsen, 2001, pp. 60–61.

¹⁸⁸ K. M. Dahl and V. Jacobsen, *Køn, etnicitet og barrierer for integration. Fokus på uddannelse, arbejde og familieliv* (Gender, ethnicity and barriers for integration. Focus on education, work and family life), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2005, (hereafter Dahl and Jacobsen, 2005).

- Negative social capital (poor resources in the family) and thus lack of knowledge about the Danish educational system.
- Lack of “ethnic capital” (lack of knowledge of Danish culture and society).
- Ethnic prejudice and discrimination (for example, bullying in schools, playgrounds)
- A limited network beyond one’s own ethnic background.
- Gender roles in the family structure, which can have both positive and negative consequences.

This study argues that those female students who are allowed to carry on with their education have shown better performance than boys, since girls usually stay at home after school and do their homework.¹⁸⁹ Yet, on the other hand, comparatively early marriage can delay or prevent the completion of further education for girls.

The Ministry of Integration's 2006 think tank report finds that 51 per cent of bilingual pupils in Copenhagen had functional deficiencies in reading the Danish language, as compared to 14 per cent of native Danish pupils.¹⁹⁰ It also concludes that poor academic achievement in primary and secondary schools, as well as difficulties in obtaining apprenticeship opportunities in relevant firms or businesses, in turn impacts on bilingual pupils’ achievement in vocational colleges. Here, around 20 per cent of pupils from minorities drop-out each year without completing their education.¹⁹¹

A 2008 study by the Rockwool Foundation indicates some improvement in educational trends for minority pupils in Denmark, but highlights that drop-out rates, particularly in vocational training colleges, still remain higher than for native Danish pupils.¹⁹²

Interviews carried out in Copenhagen for this Open Society Foundations report also confirm the same common problems or difficulties faced by minority pupils that have

¹⁸⁹ Dahl and Jacobsen, 2005.

¹⁹⁰ The report references the OECD PISA survey. Ministry of Refugees, *2006 Think tank Report*, p. 42.

¹⁹¹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 20.

¹⁹² This is a national survey, not confined to Copenhagen. See: P. Jensen and A. W. Rasmussen, *Immigrant and Native Children's Cognitive Outcomes and the Effect of Ethnic Concentration in Danish Schools*, the Rockwool Foundation and the Southern Danish University, Odense, 2008.

been identified in the above-mentioned national and international research.¹⁹³ These are, namely, as follows:

- The overall low socioeconomic position of migrant families.
- Lower expectations in schools for children with a minority background, which in turn hampers their self-esteem and motivation.
- Parents opting for private schools to avoid schools with a high proportion of minority children.
- Inconsistent language policy implementation.
- Higher drop-out rates in secondary and upper secondary schools.
- Lack of parental support for language stimulation and homework.

The 2004 OECD PISA Survey found a consistent performance gap between monolingual pupils (with Danish as their mother tongue) and bilingual pupils.¹⁹⁴ This performance gap is attributed to socioeconomic differentials, low incomes, and far less resources being available to help children with their school homework.

The OECD PISA surveys (2003, 2004 and 2010), which compare students' achievements internationally – and also other national evaluations – have consistently revealed that the level of achievement for ethnic minority students going through the public education system is lower than that for native Danes. Nationally, there has been an average gap in performance of 1–1.5 points between these two groups, at the final exams after Grade 9. For example, in 2009 native Danes scored an average of 5.2 in the final reading examination, as compared to 3.6 for “immigrants”, and 3.4 for the “descendents of immigrants”.¹⁹⁵

The government's efforts to reduce this gap between ethnic minority and ethnic majority students, with respect to access to, and achievements in, education, have focused on challenging what are perceived to be individual deficiencies among ethnic

¹⁹³ Interviews with: (1) Öman German, the Supervising Teacher (*funktionslærer*) for Turkish teaching in Copenhagen, in Valby on 28 February 2010; (2) Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010; and (3) Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010.

¹⁹⁴ The 2004 PISA Survey is referenced in: City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*.

¹⁹⁵ Until 2007, marks were awarded on a scale from 0 to 13. Since 2007, the scale has been adjusted to a scale from -3 to 12. See: Uni-C Statistik og Analyse, *Grundskolekarakterer, prøvetermin maj/juni 2009* (Grades in lower secondary at the May/June test 2009), Uni-C Statistik og Analyse (Uni-C Statistics and Analysis), Copenhagen, March 2010, p. 15. Available at: http://www.uvm.dk/-/media/Files/Stat/Folkeskolen/PDF10/100421_Grundskolekarakterer%202009.ashx (accessed 1 January 2011).

minorities – namely, deficiencies in Danish language competencies, and in knowledge of the Danish educational system and of Danish culture and values.¹⁹⁶

As a consequence of this approach, priority has been given to support for Danish language instruction from early childhood and dispersal of ethnic minority students, to decrease the minority student ratio in some schools and areas (see above). There seems to be less focus on institutional changes towards affirming diversity, for example, by including ethnic minority languages in education and taking on board multicultural education.¹⁹⁷ The government has emphasised the abolition of mother tongue instruction to “non-Western” students as one of the most important of its measures aimed at better integrating ethnic minorities into schools and further education.^{198,199}

At the national level, little status is accorded to the languages that are spoken in most of Muslim homes, with linguistic diversity considered, politically, as an aberration, or an obstacle to acquiring mastery of the Danish language. This is contrary to the results of a range of studies and research that indicate the potential benefits of multilingualism.²⁰⁰

The 2010 OECD report on migrant education specifically notes the low priority accorded to minority languages in Danish national policy:

Children’s proficiency in their mother tongue is not assessed at any point in the education system, and they are not supported or encouraged in improving or using their mother tongue [...] Except in the municipality of Copenhagen,

¹⁹⁶ See: Kristjánsdóttir, 2006. Also: T. Gitz-Johansen, *Den multikulturelle skole – integration og sortering* (The multicultural school – integration and exclusion), Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg, 2006 (hereafter Gitz-Johansen, 2006).

¹⁹⁷ See, for example: Kristjánsdóttir, 2006; and Gitz-Johansen, 2006.

¹⁹⁸ Danish Ministry of Education, *Nyheder: Initiativer overfor tosprogede elever* (Initiatives towards bilingual students), Ministry of Education Press Release, 2006 (no longer available online).

¹⁹⁹ These initiatives were announced in “The Government’s Policy Programme” (*Regeringsgrundlaget*) and implemented, from 2001, under the government’s action plan, “Growth, Welfare, Renewal” (*Vækst, velfærd, fornyelse*). Here, mother tongue education was not placed under the heading “education” but rather under that of “a new immigration policy”, which stressed that mother tongue education was to be abolished. Available at: <http://www.stm.dk/publikationer/regeringsgrundlag/reggrund01.htm#udlændingepolitik> (accessed 11 October 2010).

²⁰⁰ See, for example: J. N. Jørgensen, E. Hansen, A. Holmen and J. Gimbel (eds.), *Bilingualism in Society and School*, Multilingual Matters Ltd., Cleveland, Philadelphia, 1988. Also: A. Holmen, E. Hansen, J. Gimbel and J. N. Jørgensen (eds.), *Bilingualism and the Individual*, Multilingual Matters Ltd., Cleveland, Philadelphia, 1988; and A. Holmen, *Betydningen af sprog, tosprogethed og sprogligt bårne kulturformer for integrationsprocesserne* (The role of language, bilingualism and language-based cultural forms in processes of integration). Aalborg: AMID Working Paper Series no. 23, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University. 2002.

information on children's mother tongues is not included in administrative registers.²⁰¹

Identity and discrimination in the education system

There is very little research looking at discrimination against ethnic minorities in the education system in Denmark, or at discrimination against Muslims specifically.

A 1999 survey, in which different people from different ethnic groups were asked about their own experience of discrimination in various spheres of life, suggests that experiences of discrimination vary between different ethnic groups. This survey found, for example, that while 8 per cent of Bosnians and 12 per cent of Lebanese reported experiences of discrimination in schools and other educational establishments, the corresponding figure was higher for Turks (17 per cent) and Somalis (26 per cent).²⁰² The survey does not elaborate, however, on the ways in which such discrimination was perceived by the respondents.

These results are consistent with the surveys on integration carried out in 2004 and 2005 by the private firm, Catnét, which is based in Copenhagen.²⁰³ These surveys were based on interviews carried out with migrants from "non-Western" countries. A main finding was that, second only to the employment market, educational institutions were an area of everyday interaction with the wider society in which this group complained most of experiencing discrimination.

However, from 2003 to 2008, complaints about discrimination in educational institutions dropped significantly from 38 per cent to 30 per cent of all the responses in the latest round of surveys, carried out among 1,002 respondents from seven national groups.²⁰⁴

A number of studies (2004 and 2005) report on the role of indirect discrimination at various levels, and in different areas, of the education system, as well as looking at the disadvantage experienced by pupils with Danish as a second or additional language or a

²⁰¹ OECD, 2010, p. 35.

²⁰² Møller and Tøgeby, 1999.

²⁰³ These are periodic reports in a series published by the private firm, Catinét, Copenhagen, including on behalf of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration and other authorities, and also for the press. See, for example: Catinét Research, *IntegrationStatus (2004; 2005)*.

²⁰⁴ Mikkelsen, 2008, p.227

lack of familiarity with the monocultural educational system.²⁰⁵ Among the identified obstacles faced in the educational system by children from “non-Western” migrant families are a lack “ethnic capital” conducive for educational attainment in Danish schools, as well as a lack of networks beyond their own ethnic group, which in turn leads to insufficient knowledge about educational and vocational opportunities (see also above). However, discrimination is also identified as being part of the problem.

All these factors can have an important impact on Muslim pupils, including with respect to their school drop-out rates or future job opportunities.

More recently, a 2006 study focuses on classroom teaching and the relation between teachers and students.²⁰⁶ The study finds that teachers tend to treat ethnic minority students as if they are “deprived” by being “non-Danish”, and that in consequence these students’ educational needs are not being met. A main conclusion is the need for schools to develop a new intercultural approach that can also include bilingual students in education, as a step towards integration in society.

Another 2008 research study focuses on issues of identity for a group of Muslim students in Grades 4 and 6.²⁰⁷ The study finds that, for both girls and boys, their common identity as Muslims and feeling of being similar to the other Muslim students, draws them into religious communities of practice within the school, within

²⁰⁵ See: H. Bundgaard and E. Gulløv, *Sprogsvurdering af tosprogede børn – et eksempel på politisk styring af pædagogisk arbejde* (Measuring of language qualifications of the bilingual children – an example of political intervention in the pedagogical sphere), in *Vera*, no 30 /2005, Copenhagen, 2005. Available at: <http://www.vera.dk> (accessed 1st July 2010). Also: E. Christensen and D. Sloth, *Børn med anden etnisk baggrund ved skolestart* (School-starting children with a minority ethnic background), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2005. Also: B. Colding, *A dynamic analysis of educational progression: Comparing children of immigrants and natives*, AMID Working Paper Series no. 37, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg, 2005. Available at: http://www.amid.dk/pub/papers/AMID_37-2005_Bjorg_Colding.pdf (accessed 1st July 2010). Also: K. M. Dahl, *Etniske minoriteter i tal* (Ethnic Minorities in numbers), the National Centre for Social Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2005. Also: Dahl and Jacobsen, 2005; and N. Egelund and B. Rangvid, *PISA – København 2004: Kompetencer hos elever i 9. klasse* (PISA Report – Copenhagen 2004: Competence of pupils in the 9th grade), Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 2005. Also: J. Krejsler, N. Kryger and J. Milner, “Integration, nation og tosprogethed” (Integration, nation and bilingualism), in the Danish University of Education (DPU), *Pædagogisk Antropologi*, no. 4, Copenhagen, 2005; and Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Årbog 2005* (Yearbook 2005), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, 2005, (hereafter Ministry of Integration, 2005 Yearbook). Available at <http://www.inm.dk> (accessed 1st July 2010).

²⁰⁶ Gitz-Johansen, 2006.

²⁰⁷ Laura Gilliam, *The impossible children and the proper person: A study of identity, troublemaking and Muslim communities among ethnic minority children in a Danish school*, Danish School of Education, Aarhus University, DPU, 2008.

which their Muslim identities are given specific meanings. Through their experiences in school, the girls construct an understanding of being “a bit Danish” during their childhood, until they will become “all Muslim” when they reach adulthood and start wearing the headscarf. By contrast, a group of boys engage in a semi-secret Muslim community where correct religious practices, making trouble, and being masculine have become the focus for their collective identity and their way of policing the other boys.

Finally, a 2010 study focuses on differences in health and well-being among students in Grades 5, 7 and 9 in Danish public schools, comparing students who are immigrants, the descendants of immigrants, and native Danes, respectively. The study reveals that, compared to native Danes, children of immigrants experience a significantly lesser degree of security and well-being in schools. They more frequently take sedatives or medicines for headaches or sleep problems, and suffer more from stomach aches²⁰⁸

Ethnic minority students and youth education

As schools and colleges do not maintain statistics about students on the basis of ethnicity and religion, it is difficult to provide a clear picture of the situation of, specifically, Muslim students in higher education.

The number of ethnic minority students, both male and female, enrolled in postcompulsory education has increased during the last ten years. There has been progress in the number of minority students – and especially girls – enrolling in youth education. However, in both primary and secondary schools, ethnic minority students achieve at a lower level than majority students, and in vocational schools the drop-out rate is still much higher for minority students (and in particular boys) than majority students.²⁰⁹

A 2006 report by the Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA) on bilingual students in general upper secondary schools concludes that this lower level of achievement is mainly due to the insufficient education of bilingual students in primary and lower

²⁰⁸ H. Nordahl Jensen and B.E. Holstein, *Sundhed og trivsel blandt indvandrere, efterkommere og etniske danskere i 5., 7. og 9. klasse* (Health and well-being among immigrants and descendants and ethnic Danes in Grade 5, 7 and 9), National Institute of Public Health (NIPH), June 2010. Available at: http://www.si-folkesundhed.dk/upload/enicitet_rapport_2-7_.pdf (accessed 7 October 2010).

²⁰⁹ Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration, *Tal og fakta om integration* (Numbers and facts about integration), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, September 2010. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/B15D7142-1B3F-4C40-B245-47C12F6D7A5F/0/tal_fakta_sep_2010.pdf (accessed 31st December 2010).

secondary schools. The report recommends that upper secondary schools develop a better awareness of the need for language support of bilingual students.²¹⁰

Although Arabic became an elective subject at upper secondary level from 2005, to date no schools have introduced the subject. By contrast, other languages introduced at this time, including Chinese and Japanese, have become part of curriculum in some schools. In 2006, the Danish National Union of Upper Secondary School Teachers (*Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening*, GL) had recommended to the Minister of Education that a special effort be made to promote Arabic, given that the number of students with Arabic mother tongue will increase in coming years and that their language skills will be needed in society. However, the Minister responded at the time that he did not intend to make any special effort to promote Arabic, as he thought the subject would automatically be introduced as more students with Arabic mother tongue entered upper secondary schools in the years to come.²¹¹

A lack of cognitive and conceptual repertoire in their mother tongue, together with inadequate proficiency in Danish as a second language, is undoubtedly one reason for the poor performance of children with a minority background in secondary and upper secondary education. However, one of the experts interviewed for this report highlighted a range of other problems faced by these students when they move up from secondary school at age 15-16.²¹² One of these is a lack of knowledge among many migrant parents about the Danish educational system, beyond lower secondary school level. Many do not realise that, at the upper secondary level, the *gymnasium* tracks (see above) will require good Danish, and now increasingly also English, language skills, which their children may not possess.²¹³

There are several opportunities for children from an ethnic minority background in the vocational education and training schools (VET). However, this track can give rise to other problems for such pupils, with discrimination playing a role. In particular, the VET schools often require students to secure an apprenticeship in public and private

²¹⁰ The study is based on responses from more than 6,000 pupils aged 11-15, from randomly selected schools in Denmark. See: EVA, *Gymnasiernes tiltag for tosprogede elever* (High schools' measures for bilingual students), the Danish Evaluation Institute (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut; EVA), Copenhagen, 2006, pp.103-118.

²¹¹ T. Flensburg, "Arabisk kom aldrig på gymnasiernes skoleskema" (Arabic never became part of the timetable in upper secondary schools), article in the national daily newspaper, *Politiken* (www.Politiken.dk), on 7 March 2006.

²¹² Interview with Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22nd February 2010.

²¹³ English is taught on the premise that all pupils in the class have Danish as their first language, which is obviously not the case for many children from Muslim families with a migrant background. Source: interview with Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010.

firms and organisations, which can often be more difficult to obtain for trainees with a minority background.²¹⁴

Finally, there are indications that students with an ethnic minority background tend to take a different approach to choosing subjects at the higher education level. Mainly due to concerns about discrimination in employment, many choose professional disciplines that provide them with greater freedom to move out of Denmark and find jobs in other countries.²¹⁵

5.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen – policy on education and integration

In Denmark, the highest number of immigrants and their descendents are to be found in Copenhagen Municipality (see Table 4 above, in Chapter 2.) and this is also reflected in the ethnic makeup of its schools. In August 2009, bilingual students represented nearly a third (32 per cent) of all students in the 67 public schools in Copenhagen Municipality – 10,257 bilingual students out of a total on 32,262 students.²¹⁶

The 67 public schools in Copenhagen Municipality (divided across nine different school districts) include five schools in Nørrebro District, where the Open Society Foundations survey was conducted. Here, bilingual students represented over one half (54 per cent) of all students in August 2009 – 1,435 bilingual students out of a total of 2,474 students.²¹⁷ There are no data on the number on Muslim students, specifically, but the majority of these bilingual students (1,185 students or 83 per cent) have Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Urdu, Somali, or Turkish as their mother tongue, and a large majority of these are Muslims.

Education policy in Copenhagen City is, to a great extent, shaped by national legislation. However, the city has chosen a more intercultural approach to diversity in language, culture, and religion in schools and education than the national government.

²¹⁴ Interview with Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010.

²¹⁵ This observation is primarily based on the personal experience (over the last decade) of the author of this report, Mustafa Hussain, as lecturer at Roskilde University. See also: M. Hussain, *Muslims in the EU: City Reports. Denmark*, preliminary research and literature review, EUMAP Program, Open Society Institute, Budapest, 2007, (hereafter Hussain, 2007).

²¹⁶ Website of the City of Copenhagen, Statistics section, webpage "Elever fra 0. – 10 klassetrin fordelt på skoler og sprog per 24. august 2009" (Students divided by schools and languages, as of 24 August 2009). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/integrationogborn/SubsiteFrontpage/Medarbejder/Statistik.aspx> (accessed 12th October 2010).

²¹⁷ Website of the City of Copenhagen, Statistics section, webpage "Elever fra 0. – 10 klassetrin fordelt på skoler og sprog per 24. august 2009" (Students divided by schools and languages, as of 24 August 2009). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/integrationogborn/SubsiteFrontpage/Medarbejder/Statistik.aspx> (accessed 12th October 2010).

While national legislation focuses on bilingual students' deficiencies in Danish language and knowledge of Danish culture (see above), the policy in Copenhagen also stresses the need for institutional change, in order to include a more diverse group of students. Similarly, while national legislation abolished government support for mother tongue instruction for students originating from outside Europe, Copenhagen City has continued to offer mother tongue instruction on an almost equal footing for all bilingual students (see below).

Education is one of the six “pillars” established in the Copenhagen City Council's *Integration Policy 2007–2010*.²¹⁸ According to this policy document, the vision for integration in schools is as follows:

In future, Copenhagen will be known for its ability to support all children to develop well-being, joie de vivre and the competence to act. In Copenhagen's schools, nurseries and kindergartens, children and parents from all ethnic and social groups will come together. The starting point will be multiethnic composition in schools and facilities, to enable the development of the intercultural competencies needed in the globalised society of the future. Copenhagen will be known as a city where systematic inequality between monolingual and bilingual children in terms of opportunities is overcome by means of competent and professional nurseries and kindergartens for children and schools”.²¹⁹

The integration policy identifies three main challenges in relation to education:

1. Ethnic minority students perform below the level of monolingual children and bilingual students are strongly overrepresented among the poorest performers at the leaving exams.
2. Parents often consider schools with a high rate of bilingual students as being inferior, offering poor social opportunities and low academic standards, and consequently many parents, both ethnic minority and ethnic majority parents, choose private schools. This is particularly the case in the northwestern part of the city and in Nørrebro District. Consequently, many schools in these areas have almost only bilingual students.
3. The poor results in primary and lower secondary schools contribute to high drop-out rates from youth education programmes among young people from ethnic minorities.²²⁰

The integration policy also refers to the consistent performance gap found between monolingual pupils (with Danish as their mother tongue) and bilingual pupils, with

²¹⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*. For further details on this policy document, see Section 3.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

²¹⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 19.

²²⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 19–21.

bilingual students scoring, on average, one mark below native Danish students at the final test.²²¹ The policy sets out aims to close this performance gap by 2014.²²²

Other objectives included in the integration policy are that public schools would become the first choice of parents in Copenhagen,²²³ and that the proportion of young people completing some form of youth education would increase to 95 per cent.²²⁴

The main instrument used by the City Council to attain the objectives set out in the integration policy is an ambitious programme, “Improved Learning for All” (*Faglighed for alle*), that includes initiatives in kindergartens and schools. This programme includes several measures, but the main strategy has been to disperse ethnic minority students to schools with mainly ethnic majority students, and *vice versa*. In practice, this could mean, for example, that students living in Nørrebro District would be encouraged to attend schools at Østerbro District, which is a predominantly white middle-class district, and *vice versa*. This strategy has also been called “The Copenhagen Model” (see below).

A range of other initiatives have also been initiated in support of the integration policy objectives. Among these are language stimulation in kindergartens and preschools, teaching in Danish as a second language, mother tongue instruction for bilingual students, and antidiscrimination initiatives.²²⁵

“The Copenhagen Model” and the representation of ethnic minority students in public schools

The collection of data on pupils’ languages (see above) has served to fuel public debate on whether there are some public schools in Copenhagen that have “too many” pupils whose mother tongue is not Danish – especially where this is a non-European language. Schools are, alongside workplaces, a key location for encounters between people of different backgrounds.²²⁶ However, this becomes increasingly more difficult where schools become less ethnically and culturally mixed.

²²¹ In 2005, the average marks (on a scale of 0 to 13) on school-leaving certificates in the public schools of Copenhagen were 8.0 for native Danish pupils, as compared to 7.1 for bilingual pupils of “non-Western” origin. City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 20–21.

²²² City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 21.

²²³ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 21.

²²⁴ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 20. The policy notes that, when leaving school, some 95 per cent of young people start study programmes or courses to qualify them for the labour market, but approximately 20 per cent drop-out each year. The drop-out rate is notably highest on vocational training courses, where up to half of the students drop-out.

²²⁵ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Aktive indsatser maj 2009 – April 2010” (Ongoing initiatives May 2009 – April 2010). Available at <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Integrationsindsatser/AktiveIndsaster.aspx> (accessed 12 October 2010).

²²⁶ For further details, see: Section 4.2 of this report on identity, belonging, and interaction.

The Copenhagen City Council's *Integration Policy 2007–2010* acknowledges the problem that many native Danes in the city, including in Nørrebro District, decide to move their children to private schools in order to avoid public schools with a high proportion of bilingual pupils.²²⁷

This tendency is not only confined to native Danish parents. Many Muslim parents who can afford to do so, enrol their children in schools situated outside the vicinity of Nørrebro District.²²⁸ This can be either in some ethnonational or private Islamic schools (such as the Arabic Isra school in Nørrebro and the Jinah International school for Urdu speakers) or in international schools, where English is the language of teaching.²²⁹

As a result, many public schools in Nørrebro District and surrounding areas are dominated by pupils from low-income families, with limited social and cultural capital. The majority of these are from Muslim families. This state of affairs can reproduce a vicious circle of marginalisation and failure in further education, with pupils from these families failing to obtain the right skills for the labour market.²³⁰

“The Copenhagen Model” aims to disperse ethnic minority students to schools with mainly ethnic majority students, and *vice versa*. It relies on parents voluntarily choosing specific schools. It is promoted through the programme, “Improved Learning for All” (*Faglighed for alle*) (see above), by measures such as supporting the schools to access updated computer-based learning facilities, strengthening academic standards in schools by adapting the government’s plan to put more emphasis on evaluation, improving the education of students with special needs, and strengthening second language instruction learning and coaching activities.²³¹ Language Centres have been established at all schools participating in the programme, and language teachers have

²²⁷ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 20. “In the city of Copenhagen as a whole, 25 per cent of pupils were enrolled in private schools, whilst the average for the country as a whole was merely 13 per cent in 2007.” City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 24.

²²⁸ Feedback from the Open Society Foundations’ focus groups (see Section 6.2 of this report).

²²⁹ In Nørrebro District, there are five public schools (Blågård Skolen, Guldberg Skole, Hillerødsgades Skole, Nørrebro Park Skole, and Rådmandsgade Skole) and five private schools (three Muslim schools (Nørrebro Lille Skole, IQRA, and DIA), one Catholic school (Sankt Ankar skole), and one non-religious school (Free Gymnasium).

²³⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 20.

²³¹ See: Sanne Dan Jensen, *Københavnmodellen for Integration* (The Copenhagen Model for Education), Copenhagen, 2006. Available at: <http://www.tosprogede.kk.dk> (accessed 21 November 2010). Also: J. Mehlbye and Rieper, *Kvalitetsløft til folkeskolen – et skoleudviklingsprojekt i Københavns kommune* (Improved quality in the public school – a school development programme in Copenhagen municipal), Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning: AKF), 2006. Available at http://www.akf.dk/udgivelser/2006/kvalitetsloeft_folkeskolen/ (accessed 21 November 2010).

participated in networks and seminars across the schools. Parents participating in the programme have also been offered compensation for the additional transport costs.

When these initiatives were started, the municipality was already in the process of “up-skilling” more than 1,000 teachers in teaching Danish as a second language and intercultural education, as an integrated part of all subjects. In addition, more teachers were offered courses related to multilingualism and interculturalism, and all schools involved in the project employed a bilingual consultant to support the local development process.

In October 2010, a quality report on school performance in Copenhagen Municipality found that the programme seemed to be having a slight positive impact. From 2009 to 2010, average marks for the final exam after Grade 9 had improved by 0.80 points for ethnic minority students and by 0.41 points for ethnic majority students, representing a decrease in the gap between the two groups.²³²

An evaluation of the “Improved Learning for All” Programme has been carried out by a research team from the Danish School of Education, focusing on social integration between ethnic minority and majority students.²³³ Their report concludes that the implementation of the “Copenhagen Model” has led to a more balanced distribution of bilingual minority students across Copenhagen’s school districts. In 2009, an additional 829 ethnic minority students were enrolled in schools that had very few ethnic minority students back in 2004. However, while some ethnic minority students have chosen schools with more majority students, the opposite has not been the case. In Nørrebro District, some schools experienced an increased ratio of ethnic minority students and others a slight decrease.

The evaluation also found that, although children do, to some extent, engage in “real interaction” during school, this is rarely the case outside of school. The reasons for this include an awareness of issues relating to ethnicity, race, and nationality among both adults and children. Also, a geographical separation exists between the homes of those minority students who were part of the “Copenhagen Model” transfers and their school, which means that there is less opportunity for parent-parent or parent-school interaction. The evaluation recommends that the municipality include a students’

²³² City of Copenhagen, *Kvalitetsrapport 2010 for Københavns Kommunes folkeskoler* (Quality Report 2010 for Schools in the Municipality of Copenhagen), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2010, pp. 6–7. Available at: http://www.bufnet.kk.dk/Skole/EvalueringOgProever/Kvalitetsrapport/-/media/bufnet/Kvalitetsrapport%202010/Kommunerapport_Til%20Udvalgsbeslutning%203.ashx (accessed 2nd January 2011).

²³³ J. Koefod, Peter Allerup, Jane Larsen and André Torre, *Med Spredning som muligt svar: Følgeforskning af Københavnermodellen for integration* (Dispersal as a possible answer: Evaluation of the Copenhagen Model for integration), DPU, Aarhus University, 2010, (hereafter, Koefod *et al.*, 2010).

perspective in future decisions concerning models for dispersal and social integration.²³⁴

In its 2010 status report on school integration, the Copenhagen City Council concludes that, although the measures implemented to date have led to some improvements, there are still far too many bilingual students leaving public school without the necessary qualifications to complete youth education. Only 40 per cent of boys with an ethnic minority background complete the youth education that they start,²³⁵ against the target of 95 per cent set in the Council's integration policy (see above).²³⁶ The status report also underlines that there are still too many bilingual students leaving school without the qualifications they need to be able to continue on to youth education.²³⁷

In 2009, some politicians at the Copenhagen City Council had campaigned to make the "Copenhagen Model" of school transfers not only permanent, but also compulsory.²³⁸ Due to strong resistance from members of the left-leaning political parties, including some members from the Social Democrats, this compulsory "bussing" of minority children was finally not introduced in 2009.²³⁹ However, there were concerns that this might one day become a reality, and that this would not, in itself, solve the basic underlying problems.²⁴⁰

Interviews conducted for this report confirm that the initiatives implemented to date in Copenhagen have begun to show some positive results. For example, in 2009, 38 per cent of families in the area indicated that they preferred the local public schools to private schools, as compared to 34 per cent in 2005. Enrolment in private schools fell

²³⁴ Koefod *et al.*, 2010.

²³⁵ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Status Integrationspolitikken* (2010 Review of integration policy), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2010, pp. 3–4, (hereafter City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*).

²³⁶ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 21.

²³⁷ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*, p. 3.

²³⁸ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Consultant on Bilingual Pupils, Educational Administration Wing, Copenhagen Municipality, on 21 August 2009 in Copenhagen.

²³⁹ Following the local elections of November 2009, the Copenhagen City Council chose a new Mayor for Employment and Integration, Klaus Bondum, who subsequently decided to postpone the previously proposed compulsory "bussing" of minority children. (Note: in addition to the Lord Mayor, who is the overall political head of Copenhagen City Council, there are also six elected mayors, who are the political heads responsible to run the six different administrative sectors, including education, social affairs, and integration).

²⁴⁰ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Consultant on Bilingual Pupils, Educational Administration Wing, Copenhagen Municipality, on 21 August 2009 in Copenhagen.

correspondingly over this period, from 42 per cent to 36 per cent.²⁴¹ According to the sources consulted for this report, this trend is independent of any effects of the recession.

However, despite these more positive trends, the Open Society Foundations interviews²⁴² and focus group discussions (see Section 5.2) highlighted a number of issues regarding the education of children from ethnic minorities in Copenhagen that require further attention.

First, an overarching problem is that, due to the general perceptions prevalent in the wider Danish society about immigrants from less developed countries, many teachers have low expectations for the children of these migrant families.²⁴³ This can, in turn, impact negatively on these children's self-esteem. As a result, children from some vulnerable families may either drop-out of school or engage in antisocial activities as a reaction to this perceived nonrecognition.

Second, despite the range of initiatives implemented by the City Council to improve the situation for ethnic minority pupils in public schools, the relative success or failure of these measures will ultimately depend very much on the attitudes of the teachers and management at the individual schools.²⁴⁴

Third, although many schools in Copenhagen have been proactive in seeking parents' cooperation for their children's education, such efforts have, in the past, unfortunately been exploited politically. For example, one school in Nørrebro invited Muslim mothers to come to the school and talk about their children's education. However, this initiative attracted critical statements against gender segregation and the values of Danish schools, not only from the parties in government, but also from opposition parties, including the Chairs of the Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterne*) and the Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*).²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Interviews with: (1) Öman German, the Supervising Teacher (*funktionslærer*) for Turkish Teaching in Copenhagen, in Valby on 28 February 2010; (2) Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010; and (3) Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010. See also: "Flere Vælger folkeskole på Nørrebro" (Many more choose the public schools in Nørrebro), article in the national daily newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, on 9 July 2009. Available at: <http://www.Berlingske.dk/node/1405194/print> (accessed 4 March 2010).

²⁴² Interview with Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010.

²⁴³ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Consultant on Bilingual Pupils, Educational Administration Wing, Copenhagen Municipality, on 21 August 2009 in Copenhagen.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Consultant on Bilingual Pupils, Educational Administration Wing, Copenhagen Municipality, on 21 August 2009 in Copenhagen.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Copenhagen's Youth Education Counselling and Coordination, in Copenhagen, on 22 February 2010.

Finally, there is resistance by many teachers, educational advisers, and social advisers to the national anti-radicalisation policies implemented in Copenhagen.²⁴⁶

Copenhagen – provisions for education in the mother tongue

Today, Copenhagen is one of the few municipalities to have retained the provision of free-of-charge mother tongue language lessons for all bilingual lower secondary pupils up to Grade 6 (see above).

Provision of mother tongue language instruction is one of the measures supporting the objective of the *Integration Policy 2007–2010* to close the performance gap between ethnic minority and majority students in Copenhagen (see above). However, city policy stipulates that there ought to be at least 16 students before a class for a specific minority language can be arranged. As a result, in several city schools pupils are clustered together for classes offering teaching in Turkish, Urdu, Arabic, or Somali.

Interviews conducted for this study highlighted that, although the school authorities have made efforts to improve the Danish language skills of these pupils, their acquisition of Danish as a second language remains poor.²⁴⁷ This is likely to impact on their further academic performance.

In 2008, 2,800 students in Copenhagen Municipality attended mother tongue language instruction as an extracurricular activity.²⁴⁸

However, some of the Arabic-speaking parents interviewed in Copenhagen felt that it would benefit their children's education if Arabic could be included in the formal education, rather than just as an extracurricular activity. They also found it discriminatory that, from Grade 6, they would have to pay for the classes in Arabic, while other languages, such as Spanish, were provided free of charge.²⁴⁹

One of the education experts interviewed for this report reflected that, in all the 28 years he has worked with mother tongue teaching in Copenhagen, he had always felt that his subject had never been given due priority – for example, through continuous monitoring and systematic evaluation procedures, or research-based methods of innovation in teaching techniques.²⁵⁰ He also found that the text books and manuals

²⁴⁶ For further details, see Section 9.1 of this report on policing and security.

²⁴⁷ Interviews with the following three educational experts: (1) Öman German, Supervising Teacher (*funktionslærer*) for Turkish Teaching, in Copenhagen on 28 February 2010; (2) Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Youth Education Counselling and Coordination in Copenhagen, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010; and (3) Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010.

²⁴⁸ Timm, 2008.

²⁴⁹ Timm, 2008.

²⁵⁰ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010.

used for teaching did not always correspond to the Danish context and to the surroundings in which pupils live their everyday lives.²⁵¹

Other points highlighted in the Open Society Foundations interviews were a lack of coordination across the municipalities; a lack of qualified teachers, and of adequate training or capacity-building; and confusion about the definition of the mother tongue language. For example, should Kurdish-speaking children from Turkey learn Kurdish or Turkish, or should children from Punjabi-speaking homes learn Urdu?²⁵²

The priority given to mother tongue instruction in ethnic minority languages has, over the years, continuously been questioned by some politicians in Copenhagen. This debate seems, in turn, to have negatively influenced the perceptions of Muslim students and parents. For example, when interviewed for a 2007 study, a girl speaking Arabic as her mother tongue commented as follows:

We do not feel that our language is valued as much as other subjects. You do not question if math should be a subject or not in the same way as mother tongue instruction is questioned. But for some of us our own language is important, but then we have to attend classes when the school-day is over.²⁵³

This quote – from an interview with a group of secondary school students in Nørrebro District, with Arabic or Hindi as their mother tongue – also indicates that, through more systematic inclusion of minority languages in the mainstream curriculum, there might be more resources available to be utilised for the city’s ambition “to support all children to develop well-being, *joie de vivre* and the competence to act”, as expressed in the *Integration Policy 2007–2010*.²⁵⁴

Copenhagen – antidiscrimination measures and respect for religion in education

There are no specific measures in the Copenhagen City Council’s *Integration Policy 2007–2010* regarding respect for religion in education. A recent survey, covering 592 of the total 1,500 public schools in Denmark, revealed that one third of the schools surveyed pay attention to religious diversity and offer pupils additional holiday days for

²⁵¹ On this point a second interviewee – Öman German, Supervising Teacher (*funktionslærer*) for Turkish Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality – disagreed, being of the view that the Turkish language teachers have developed material that is adapted to the Danish environment.

²⁵² Interviews with the following three educational experts: (1) Öman German, Supervising Teacher (*funktionslærer*) for Turkish Teaching in Copenhagen, in Valby on 28 February 2010; (2) Anita Kedia, Project Leader for Youth Education Counselling and Coordination in Copenhagen, in Copenhagen on 22 February 2010; and (3) Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010.

²⁵³ B. Kristjánsdóttir and L. Timm, *Tvetunget uddannelsespolitik – dokumentation af etnisk ulighed i folkeskolen* (Double-tongued education policy – documentation of discrimination), Nyt fra Samfundsvidenskaberne, Frederiksberg, 2007.

²⁵⁴ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 19.

religious festivals such as Ramadan.²⁵⁵ This is currently decided by the individual school head. However, as indicated by comments from some parents participating in the Open Society Foundations focus groups (see Section 5.2 below), there is support for including such religious considerations into the overall Copenhagen integration policy and into the national school curriculum.

In July 2010, the Copenhagen Citizens Advice Service (*Borgerrådgiveren*) published a report on discrimination in schools, based on the results of a questionnaire sent to all public schools in the city.²⁵⁶ The report concludes that schools generally do not find discrimination to be a problem. However, it also notes that the findings from a new hotline for victims of discrimination, launched in Copenhagen in 2010,²⁵⁷ indicate that actual cases of discrimination might be far above the number of reported incidents, and that this might also be the case concerning cases of discrimination in schools.²⁵⁸

According to the Citizens Advice Service report, in 2008, six schools received complaints concerning discrimination, but in only two cases did these concern the school. Eight schools reported that they found discrimination among students to be a problem, while 20 schools found that students and parents did not have sufficient knowledge about legislation on discrimination or mechanisms to report cases of discrimination. To prevent discrimination, 16 schools had initiated specific activities, but the schools generally preferred initiatives focusing on equal opportunities, rather than discrimination.

The Copenhagen City Council has acknowledged the report's recommendation for more information to be provided to schools, students, and parents on identifying and reporting discrimination. Furthermore, the City Council has announced plans to also include in its annual questionnaire to students additional questions directly referring to their experiences of discrimination in schools.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ C. Hüttemeyer and D. Saietz, *Folkeskoler tager religiøse hensyn* (Public schools pay attention to religious diversity), article in the national daily, *Politiken*, 14 February 2010. Available at: <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE901770/folkeskolen-tager-religioese-hensyn/> (accessed 1 January 2011).

²⁵⁶ The Citizens Advice Service received responses from 54 out of 67 schools. The report regrets that schools had been slow in responding to the initial questionnaire. See: Citizens Advice Service, *Diskrimination i folkeskolen. Opfølgningsrapport* (Discrimination in School, Follow up report), Citizens Advice Service (*Borgerrådgiveren*), Copenhagen, 2010, (hereafter, Citizens Advice Service, *Discrimination*). Available on the website of the City of Copenhagen at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Borgerraadgiveren/EgenDriftundersoegelser/-/media/465CC5A9AD114A98912706B5D814770A.ashx> (accessed 13 October 2010).

²⁵⁷ For further details, see Section 9.1 of this report on policing and security.

²⁵⁸ See: Citizen Advice *Discrimination*.

²⁵⁹ The annual Copenhagen City Council questionnaire on student well-being is sent out to 12,000 students in Grades 4-9. See: Citizen Advice *Discrimination*.

Documenting discrimination and making available information on how to report discrimination in schools are important first steps taken to challenge discrimination against ethnic minorities in schools, including Muslims. The next step would be to develop education policies enabling teachers and schools to integrate knowledge on discrimination and rights concerning language and religion into the school curriculum.

5.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

5.2.1 Satisfaction with local schools

In the survey, the education services provided by the Copenhagen Municipality – and specifically the perceived poor standards in local schools – emerged as the service with which both Muslim and non-Muslims respondents were least satisfied, second only to street cleaning services (see Table 19 below).

Table 19. Are you satisfied with local services?*

		Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Yes, satisfied with local services – or no response:		35	13	48
	Garbage on the streets	16	26	42
	Poor standards in schools	11	16	27
	Bad and disrespectful policing	5	13	18
	Lack of services for youth	8	10	18
	Ghetto formation	6	11	17
(2) No, not satisfied with local services Reason of dissatisfaction:	Lack of affordable housing	6	5	11
	Disrespectful local authorities	4	1	5
	Decaying conditions	3	1	4
	Poor service provisions	2	2	4
	Costly public transport	1	2	3
	Lack of integration	2	0	2
	Other	1	0	1
	Total	65	87	152
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses

A similar picture emerged when survey respondents were asked to prioritise three areas of local services that they felt needed special attention (see Table 42, in Chapter 9). Here better standards in primary and secondary schools was selected as the third priority overall, after more facilities for young people and improved street cleanliness.

Survey respondents were also asked specifically about their level of satisfaction with the local lower secondary and upper secondary/vocational schools in Nørrebro (see Table 20 below).

Table 20. How satisfied are you with local schools?

How satisfied are you with:	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) The local lower secondary schools?	Very satisfied	14	7	21
	Fairly satisfied	40	15	55
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12	12	24
	Fairly dissatisfied	14	13	27
	Very dissatisfied	2	10	12
	Don't know	18	42	60
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) The local upper secondary schools (<i>gymnasiums</i>) and vocational schools?	Very satisfied	13	8	21
	Fairly satisfied	35	16	51
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	7	3	10
	Fairly dissatisfied	5	2	7
	Very dissatisfied	2	1	3
	Don't know	38	69	107
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

At the lower secondary level, a majority of Muslims (54 respondents) were very or fairly satisfied with local schools. However, this was the case for only a fifth of non-Muslims (22 respondents), with a significant proportion of this group (42 respondents) stating that they had no view on this question. In total, 16 Muslims and 23 non-Muslims expressed dissatisfaction with these local schools. When asked for further details, respondents clarified that this was mainly due to their poor standards and performance.

At the upper secondary level, 48 Muslims and 24 non-Muslim respondents indicated that they were fairly or very satisfied with local higher secondary schools and vocational colleges. Relatively few respondents (7 Muslims and 3 non-Muslims) expressed dissatisfaction with these local schools, but the largest number of responses was in the “don’t know” category (38 Muslims and 69 non-Muslims).

In assessing these results for local schools, it should be borne in mind that many of the respondents do not have first-hand, recent experience of the schools in question. This would include, for example, pensioners, and parents with preschool age children or children who no longer attend a school in Nørrebro. In other words, a good number of the responses were based on the general reputation of the public schools in the area.

Those who discussed the local public schools in the focus group sessions for Muslim women²⁶⁰ highlighted one salient issue, namely that Danish parents avoid sending their children to schools in the local area if there are “too many” pupils with a minority background in these schools. Speaking of this phenomenon of “white flight”, a participant from one of these focus groups commented that,

I am not going to say that there is much unity among the Muslim community; they do live together but they have many misunderstandings amongst them. Some dislike each other. It is not that they are one flesh, close to each other. Among the Danish majority, there are some who do not want foreigners’ children to be with Danish children or Danish children to be in classes where foreign children are in a majority; they want as few foreigners in the class as possible.²⁶¹

Another participant from this focus group added:

We have a school here, and it [“white flight”] happened there to such an extent that the Danish majority abandoned that school to solely foreign pupils. The school principal worked hard on this issue; she said, and this was reported in the newspapers, that the success rates in that school were very high. Then the Danes realised that these people [foreigners] were moving ahead fast and there should

²⁶⁰ Open Society Foundations’ Focus Group D (women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city) and Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

²⁶¹ Comment from a participant in Focus Group D (women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

be no problem [with sending their own children there] because the school was providing a good education. Some of the Danes have returned to the school, though in the past there had been a time when the Danes had completely vacated this area.²⁶²

In another focus group, a mother described why she had chosen to send her daughter to a private Islamic school:

It was in my mind because [the public school] environment is not suitable for Muslims. [Islamic schools] teach the same syllabi, everything is the same, but because they are Muslims and Pakistanis, they create our own environment.²⁶³

Criticism of the state-run public schools also came to the surface during a focus group session on education and employment. Here, one of the participants, who himself had been pupil in a public school, said that the atmosphere for Muslim pupils was not pleasant, and that private schools offered both a better standard of education and space for recognition of the Muslim identity:

Regrettably, the public schools in Copenhagen are not performing well. [...] I can recall, when I came to Denmark, how much you had to fight against, when you were in a public school. And it is also frustrating, when you are young and you are finding out who you are, that you are also up against racism and prejudice and other problems. [...] the international schools have no such problems.²⁶⁴

The focus groups and expert interviews also revealed a problem of low expectations from teachers for minority pupils.²⁶⁵ This can have a negative impact on these pupils in terms of motivation and self-esteem, and lead later to higher drop-out rates. One focus group participant commented specifically on the low expectations from teachers in public schools for Muslim pupils:

I think one should do more to open things up for the children [...] to put into peoples' minds that maybe Muslim children also have something to offer, also have something to contribute. But this is not remembered in the public schools.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Comment from a participant in Focus Group D (women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

²⁶³ Comment from a participant in Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

²⁶⁴ Comment from a participant in Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

²⁶⁵ Interview with Assad Ahmed, Educational Consultant for Mother Tongue Teaching in Copenhagen Municipality, in Ballerup on 2 April 2010.

²⁶⁶ Comment from a participant in Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

Another female participant spoke about her experiences in a kindergarten that her son was attending.²⁶⁷ Here, if her son spoke with a bit of an accent he was not taken seriously, and was treated as if no one could understand him. She lamented this experience, but was unsure if this was a case of discrimination.

5.2.2 Schools' respect of religious customs

The Open Society Foundations survey sought to assess whether local schools generally respect the different religious customs of pupils (see Table 21 below).

Table 21. Do schools respect different religious customs?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Too much	4	4	8
About right	52	45	97
Too little	29	17	46
Don't know	15	33	48
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

A majority of respondents (56 Muslims and 49 non-Muslims) reported that schools did respect the religious customs of their pupils ("too much" or "about right"). However, a significant minority (29 Muslims and 17 non-Muslims) were of the view that schools respected the religious customs of their pupils too little.

The issue of schools' respect of pupils' religious customs was also raised in the focus group sessions. Here, discussions focused on topics such as swimming classes, the right to take a free day from school on a Muslim holiday, and diet—in particular, teachers' concerns about fasting by small children during Ramadan, in case this hampered their concentration in the classroom.

The following comment, from a focus group participant, is indicative of some of the concerns that were raised by parents:²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Comment from a participant in Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

²⁶⁸ Comments from three participants in Focus Group D (women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

The main problem is that, when the kids have to go swimming, the Danish kids take off their clothes in front of everyone and swim, but our kids cannot do that. I tell my kids this, such as to my daughter, “You cannot take off your clothes in front of others; don’t say it’s me who told you this, but say that you yourself don’t like to show your naked body to others.”

However, in general, focus group participants were satisfied with the ways in which such issues were being handled by the school authorities. In addition, it should also be mentioned here that there is no particular dress code for Danish public schools and, as such, no restriction on Muslim girls wearing a headscarf (*hijab*).²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ The topic of the *hijab* has been discussed in Danish public debates for more than a decade now, but to date no public school has prohibited it.

6. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EMPLOYMENT

Participation in the labour market remains at the core of economic integration. This, in turn, requires not only *theoretical* opportunities for employment – namely, that all have equal rights to enter the employment market according to the law – but also *real* opportunities to find employment in the mainstream labour market, and in jobs that are commensurate to an individual's skills and qualifications.

6.1 Background

This section (6.1) draws on official data and information from recent studies and reports on the employment of ethnic minorities in Denmark, as well as interviews carried out for this report. It is divided into two sub-sections: national research findings (6.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (6.1.2). The following section (6.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations surveys and focus groups.

6.1.1 National research findings

Background

The Danish labour market is characterised by a so-called Flexsecurity model, with relatively high minimum wages, but low security of permanent employment.

The labour market is highly regularised, with a range of laws, rules, and directives, including on entitlement to unemployment benefits, compulsory job training and “job-activation”,²⁷⁰ membership requirements for unemployment insurance schemes, as well as the rights of employees to take leave with compensation (such as during pregnancy or after a death in the near family), and of employers to hire and fire with minimal interference from the state or the trade unions.

Yet, on the other hand, the Danish labour market is also known as one of the most flexible labour markets in Europe, where the unemployed are secured against severe economic setbacks for up to four years, provided they are members of a state-sponsored unemployment insurance scheme (*A-Kasse*).

²⁷⁰ “Job-activation” refers to a range of activities that every client of working-age who is in receipt of social welfare must undertake with the social authorities of their municipality. These could include, for example, hedging and grass-mowing in public parks, attending training courses on how to write a job application and a CV. The idea is that an unemployed person should not just sit at home idle until he or she finds a proper job. Also, to be eligible to draw sickness allowances, all those with a medical certificate stating that they are too ill to work are supposed to meet personally with advisers at the municipal jobs centres once a week.

Statistical data on ethnic minorities

In principle, all immigrants in Denmark who have a work permit, regardless of their national origin, have the right to work and to become a member of a trade union.

State agencies dealing with employment issues do not distinguish between the ethnicity or faith of the unemployed, as this is prohibited by Danish law. However, a number of research sources do calculate the employment rates for native Danes and other members of the labour force, respectively, using the criteria of nationality.²⁷¹ This includes research commissioned or undertaken by state bodies, such as the think tank of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, the Directorate of Employment, and the official national statistics bureau, Statistics Denmark (*Danmark Statistik*), as well as other independent research institutes

Employment and unemployment rates

Until 2009, Denmark enjoyed one the highest employment rates of all EU countries.²⁷² In fact, certain sectors of the economy have suffered acute labour shortages, to the extent that immigration rules for some categories of foreign workers, such as nurses, medical doctors, and IT specialists, have been relaxed in order to meet the increasing demand for professionals in particular industries and service sectors.

Until the recent recession (from 2009 in Denmark), the general economic upswing also helped the minority ethnic communities, whose unemployment rate had, for many years, been much higher than that of native Danes. Table 22 below provides a general overview of the changes in labour market conditions between 1999 and 2005.

²⁷¹ The most recent and detailed data are available (in Danish only) from the following publication: Danmark Statistik, *Indvandrere i Danmark* (Immigrants in Denmark), Danmark Statistik (Statistics Denmark), Copenhagen, 2008.

²⁷² In 2007, Denmark enjoyed the highest employment rate of all EU27 countries. Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 121.

Table 22. Employment rates for native Danes, and for immigrants and their descendants from “non-Western” countries, (aged 25-64) – 1999 to 2005

Measure	Status	Danes		Immigrants*		Descendants*	
		1999	1999	1999	2005	1999	2005
Total numbers	Employed	2,132,045	2,131,316	50,608	75,467	1,003	4,239
	Unemployed	98,492	102,568	12,958	14,649	128	573
	Out of the labour force	483,619	496,679	56,845	69,678	332	1,561
	Total	2,714,156	2,730,563	120,411	159,794	1,463	6,373
Rates (%)	In employment	82	82	53	56	77	76
	Unemployed	4	5	20	16	11	12

Source: Mikkelsen, 2008²⁷³

Notes: All data is for individuals aged 25-64.

*These categories only include immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, from “non-Western” countries.²⁷⁴

As shown above, from 1999 to 2005 the employment and unemployment rates for both native Danes and the descendants of “non-Western” migrants remained fairly stable. By contrast, the employment rate for immigrants from “non-Western” countries increased slightly (from 53 to 56 per cent), while their unemployment rate fell correspondingly (from 20 to 16 per cent).

Yet despite this fall in the unemployment rate for “non-Western” migrants, it has, nonetheless, at all times been significantly higher than for native Danes, and their employment rate far lower. This is despite the labour shortages suffered in some sectors of the Danish economy over this period.

The above data also indicates that the descendants of migrants fare better in the labour market than do immigrants, although their employment rate still remains below that of native Danes.

In the absence of official data disaggregated by religion, one way of ascertaining the situation of Muslims, specifically, in the labour market is to compare the employment rates among immigrants coming from different, predominantly Muslim countries, as shown below in Table 23.

²⁷³ Mikkelsen, 2008.

²⁷⁴ The category “Western” includes EU and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City), as well as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. See, for example: Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 599.

Table 23. Employment rates among ethnic minorities (aged 24-64) from selected predominantly Muslim countries – as of 1 January 2005

Population categories	Country of origin*	Employment rate (%)	
		Males	Females
Immigrants and descendants of immigrants	Pakistan	63	32
	Turkey	62	42
	Former Yugoslavia	60	46
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	54	44
	Iran	54	40
	Iraq	37	14
	Lebanon	37	13
	Somalia	27	11
	Afghanistan	24	13
	All countries – total	55	41
Native Danes	Total	81	75

Source: Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, 2006.²⁷⁵

Note: *Sorted by male employment rate (%)

The above data are derived from the 2006 report of the think tank of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, which uses the categories “native Danes” and “immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries”.²⁷⁶ With the exception of the countries of the former Yugoslavia, the non-Muslim population of the countries included in this table are assumed to be statistically insignificant. A number of tentative conclusions may be drawn from these data.

First, there do appear to be differences between the employment rates of immigrants and their descendants from Muslim and non-Muslim countries. For example, the corresponding data for Vietnamese (a non-Muslim group) indicate that their rate of employment stood at 67 per cent for males and 53 per cent for females, both significantly higher rates than for any group from predominantly Muslim countries.²⁷⁷ However, individuals in this group may well have arrived in Denmark at an earlier date than most Muslim migrants.

²⁷⁵ Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2006 *Think tank Report*.

²⁷⁶ It should be noted that many non-EU European countries, including the countries of the former Yugoslavia, are officially counted as “non-Western” countries. See, for example: Danmark Statistiks, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 599.

²⁷⁷ Danish Ministry of Refugees, 2006 *Think tank Report*.

Second, there are significant differences in the employment rates of immigrants coming from the different, predominantly Muslim countries, ranging from 24 per cent for males from Afghanistan, to 63 per cent for males from Pakistan (boosted by high levels of self-employment).

Third, the risk of being unemployed is greater for Muslims with origins in the least developed countries (such as Somalia and Afghanistan), and for Muslims whose appearance and dress deviates from that of typical Europeans. Thus, light-skinned Bosnian Muslims, who are harder to distinguish from other Europeans, unless they adopt Islamic dress codes such as the *hijab*, appear to face fewer disadvantages in the employment market, and so have higher rates of employment. However, their presumably higher level of education and skills (coming from a developed country) will also play a part in this, as may also the general sympathy felt in Denmark towards the victims of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

It should be noted, however, that these data stem from a period (2006) when the Danish economy was booming and had almost reached full employment, and was even struggling with problems of labour shortage in some sectors of the economy.

Another way to look at the employment situation of Muslims, specifically, is to track the employment rates over time for different ethnic groups:

In 1996, the unemployment rates for various national groups (males and females combined) were recorded as follows:²⁷⁸

- Native Danes (7 per cent)
- Nordic citizens (13 per cent)
- Americans (16 per cent)
- Former Yugoslavians (24 per cent)
- Africans (37 per cent)
- Pakistanis (40 per cent)
- Turks (41 per cent)
- Other, including Palestinians and Arabs (37 per cent)

Four years later, in 2000, the overall picture for Muslims remained mostly the same, when compared to other immigrants from non-Western countries and with native Danes.²⁷⁹ For example, the unemployment rate for Somalis, Iraqis, and Moroccans (male and female combined) was recorded at above 65 per cent, while the

²⁷⁸ K. Larsen, *Statistik om de etniske minoriteter i Danmark* (Statistics on ethnic minorities in Denmark), Danish Council for International Co-operation (MS), Copenhagen, 1999, p. 57.

²⁷⁹ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*, p. 31.

corresponding rate for immigrants from Thailand and Vietnam was less than 40 per cent and that for native Danes about 18 per cent.

Due to the general upswing in the Danish economy until 2009, the situation has since improved (see Table 23 above) – especially for young women from the various Muslim groups.²⁸⁰ Nonetheless, Muslims still remain in a disadvantageous situation in the Danish employment market.

Factors influencing employment rates for ethnic minorities

The majority of individuals with a “non-Western” ethnic minority background are to be found at the lowest end of the Danish labour market, in terms of skills and qualifications. For those with qualifications, research findings suggest that they do not benefit fully, on an equal footing with the rest of the population, from their education and skills – whether these were obtained in Denmark or in any other country.²⁸¹

Muslims, in particular, still remain among the most marginalised citizens in Danish society with regard to the employment market. Those who are employed tend to be either self-employed, in areas such as grocery shops or newspaper kiosks, taxi-driving and taxi ownership, or working in the least attractive and low-paid job markets, such as in private cleaning firms or low-level hotel, restaurant, and catering services.²⁸²

In Copenhagen City, for example, many Muslims make their living by running kiosk-shops and grocery stores, or by driving taxis. Yet the situation for the self-employed in the city is no less precarious than for those who are employed by others. According to the Copenhagen City Council, 30 per cent of new businesses that are launched by entrepreneurs with an immigrant background close within their first year. This compares to 20 per cent for entrepreneurs with a Danish background.²⁸³

It has been suggested that members of some ethnic groups, such as Pakistanis or Turks, are often found to be self-employed because they have a “natural aptitude for

²⁸⁰ See: City of Copenhagen, *Statusrapport 2009* (Status Report for 2009), Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2009, (hereafter City of Copenhagen, *Statusrapport 2009*). Also: John Andersen (ed.), *Ressourcemobiliserende beskæftigelsespolitik – strategier og erfaringer fra udsatte byområder* (Employment policy through resource-mobilisations – Strategies and experience from vulnerable city areas), Roskilde University Publishers, Roskilde, 2008, (hereafter Andersen, 2008); and Mikkelsen, 2008.

²⁸¹ See, for example: S. Rezai and M. Goli, *Indvandrers tætte netværk: katalysator eller hæmsko for innovation og vækst?* (The stronger network ties of immigrants: a catalyst or an impediment to innovation and growth?), Sub-report no. 1 in the “Self-employed immigrants” Project, Department of Social Science and Business Economics, Roskilde University Centre (RUC), Roskilde, 2005, (hereafter Rezai and Goli, 2005).

²⁸² See: Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2005 Yearbook*. Also: Rezai and Goli, 2005; and Mikkelsen, 2001.

²⁸³ City of Copenhagen, *Statusrapport 2009*.

entrepreneurship”.²⁸⁴ However, other studies suggest that the high rates of self-employment among these groups of immigrants are the result of the difficulties they face in finding a job in the regular labour market.²⁸⁵

Research indicates that in Denmark young people from ethnic minorities generally develop low expectations of gainful employment in their school years, and that this might have some effect on their ambitions for further education.²⁸⁶ Most expect to be unemployed when they reach their mid-twenties, whilst native Danes, on the other hand, envisage themselves as studying for higher education by this age.

Other researchers have calculated that, compared to native Danes, the economic pay-off of higher education for ethnic minorities is much lower in the Danish labour market.²⁸⁷ This may in part explain why the majority of those students from minority ethnic groups who do manage to reach universities study the natural sciences, medicine, IT, engineering, and managerial sciences. Very few study the social sciences or other professional fields that confine job opportunities primarily to the Danish labour market, such as law, sociology, and national economics.²⁸⁸ It may also explain the reported tendency for many well-educated members of ethnic minority groups to

²⁸⁴ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*.

²⁸⁵ See: K. B. Jensen, M. Ejrnæs, H. S. Nielsen and A. Würtz, *Self-employment for immigrants: a last resort?*, unpublished working paper, Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, 2002; and S. Rezai, *Indvandrerjede virksomheder* (Immigrants-owned enterprises), AMID Working Paper Series no. 8, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002. Also: Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*, p. 38.

²⁸⁶ See: J. Mehlbye, Pauline Hagensen and Tue Halgreen, *Et frit valg? – unges overgang fra grundskolen til ungdomsuddannelserne – om danske unge fra etniske minoriteter* (A free choice? The transition from primary to intermediate education for young people – on the situation of Danish young people belonging to ethnic minorities), Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 2000. Also the qualitative analysis: B. Moldenhawer, “Ethnic Minorities in the Primary and Secondary Schools and Youth Education Strategy”, in Christiansen Simon, Rikke Egga Jørgensen, Kirsten Gelting, *et al.* (eds.), *Minority Report: Focus on ethnic equality in Denmark*, MixEurope, Copenhagen, first edition, October 2004.

²⁸⁷ Leif Husted, Helena Skyt Nielsen, Michael Rosholm and Nina Smith, *Hit twice? Danish evidence on the double-negative effect on the wages of immigrant women*, CLS Working paper, Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, June 2000.

²⁸⁸ So far, no rigorous study on the choice of subjects for higher education among minority ethnic groups in Denmark has been found. This observation is therefore based primarily on the personal experiences of the author of this report, Mustafa Hussain (Lecturer at Roskilde University), both with regard to the Danish Muslim community, and from insights gained at Roskilde University as a teacher and supervisor for graduate papers in social science.

leave Denmark after completing their education, for jobs in the UK, the USA, and elsewhere.²⁸⁹

Other research suggests that, while factors such as education, training, and language skills are determinants of the kind of jobs that immigrants hold, ethnic identity also plays a role. In other words, discrimination is also a crucial factor.²⁹⁰ However, the question of just how crucial, and in which job situations and for which ethnic groups, still remains unexplored across the plethora of publications that have emerged in the past decade.

Surveys in the 1990s using “situation testing” – where job applications are sent with the same qualifications, but using different names, indicating different ethnic backgrounds – have found that the chances of an applicant being called for a job interview varied at a ratio of 1:32, depending upon whether the individual had a native Danish name or a typical “immigrant name” (namely, a Muslim name).²⁹¹ Unfortunately, no more recent similar research appears to be available, so it is not possible to establish if this finding is still valid today.

In order to better ascertain and understand job discrimination, one researcher has argued in favour of creating a statistical database for the labour market, based on ethnic categories.²⁹² She has also proposed the establishment of an independent complaints office to deal with allegations of direct and indirect discrimination against ethnic minorities in the labour market.

Finally, another factor that may help to explain labour market disadvantage, one that has gained increasing attention from experts in recent years, is the network of relationships within the national and ethnic groups, and across ethnic boundaries and in the wider society. One way to seek to understand these complex relationships, and

²⁸⁹ Media reports from a few years ago stated that many well-educated members of ethnic minority groups, including reportedly, medical doctors, dentists, and engineers, were leaving Denmark after completing their education. This topic, of a “brain-drain” due to discrimination, was later taken up again in the weekly newsletter of the Danish Federation of Labour Organisations. See: Danish Federation of Labour Organisations, *Ugebrevet A4* (Weekly Newsletter A4), Danish Federation of Labour Organisations (Landsorganisationen i Danmark), Copenhagen, Spring 2006. See also, for example, a more recent feature article (in Danish) in the daily newspaper *Politiken* on 24 June 2008, under the heading “Highly educated immigrants say goodbye”.

²⁹⁰ T. Trønæs and K. Zimmermann (eds.), *Migrants, Work and the Welfare State*, the Rockwool Foundation Research Unit, Southern Denmark University (SDU) Press, Odense, 2004.

²⁹¹ Hjarnø and Bager, 1997.

²⁹² P. Justesen, *Lighedskrav for etniske minoriteter på arbejdsmarkedet* (Demanding equal treatment of ethnic minorities in the labour market), PhD dissertation, Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, 2000.

the extent to which they can explain differences in labour market participation, is through network theory.²⁹³

In Denmark, most vacancies, especially for routine or semiroutine manual work in the service and manufacturing sectors, are filled through network relations (namely, using existing connections and contacts). Employers very often make sure that they can trust a new employee by seeking personal references from people who are already employed at the firm. At the same time, many job-seekers obtain information about employment opportunities through their personal networks of friends and family.²⁹⁴

This situation tends to put migrants, and particularly those from less-developed countries, in a disadvantageous position. They will tend to end up finding the same type of jobs in which the people in their close networks are already engaged – namely, low-paid, “dead-end” jobs, in an “ethnic niche”.²⁹⁵

This shift in understanding the higher unemployment rates among ethnic minorities, or Muslims specifically, through network theory is captured in the National Focal Point for Denmark’s 2004 report on education,

Most studies on labour market relations have been inspired by human capital theory, operationalised and measured by education, training and job experience. An alternative way of looking at labour markets, that matches processes and barriers, is social capital theory, where social resources are resources accessed through an individual’s social connections.

These social connections or social networks give different access to the labour market and to different positions within the job hierarchy. Thus, recent studies of entrance into the job market show that the native population, in general, used a mixture of weak and strong ties, whereas immigrants mainly had to rely on strong ties; that is information on vacancies from close relatives, friends and family members. These jobs were so-called dead-end jobs at the bottom of the job ladder, without any career possibilities.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ See, for example: Mikkelsen, 2001; and Dahl and Jacobsen, 2005. Also: C. B. Jagd, *Breaking the Pattern of Unemployment through Social Networks*, paper presented at the 13th Nordic Migration Conference, 18–20 November 2004, Aalborg, 2004, (hereafter, Jagd, 2004).

²⁹⁴ See: Mikkelsen, 2001; and Dahl and Jacobsen, 2005. Also: Jagd, 2004; and A. Ejrnæs, *Fleksibilitet og etnisk segregering* (Flexibility and ethnic segregation), Working Paper, Department of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre, Roskilde, 2003, (hereafter Ejrnæs, 2003). Also: National Focal Point for Denmark, 2004 Report.

²⁹⁵ In his 1999 book, *Durable Inequalities*, which touches upon the experiences of Italian immigrants in New York, the sociologist Charles Tilly maintains that the network ties do produce general inequalities in the labour market, but are also a source of protection, especially for newly arrived immigrants. See: Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequalities*, University Press of California, San Diego, 1999.

²⁹⁶ National Focal Point for Denmark, 2004 Report, p. 14. The observations here also draw a great deal on: Ejrnæs, 2003.

Attitudes towards Muslims in the workplace

A quantitative survey conducted in 2009, on behalf of the Danish Federation of Labour Organisations (*Landsorganisationen i Danmark*), looked at attitudes among Danes toward their Muslim colleagues in the workplace.²⁹⁷ The survey highlighted a good deal of scepticism on the part of survey participants about the rights that should be accorded to Muslims in the workplace, despite personal experience of working with them.

The survey found that one third of non-Muslims are of the view that Muslim women should not be allowed to wear the *hijab* at the workplace, while a majority felt that Muslims should not be allowed to say their daily prayers during working hours.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, half of the native Danish respondents wished not to be confronted with the religious practices of their colleagues at their workplace. The vast majority of native Danes surveyed believed that Muslims were creating problems by making demands for special treatment because of their religion. Nonetheless, the survey did find that the majority had no objection to their Muslim colleagues having the right to not work on their most important holy days (such as Eid and Ashura), or to be respected in their dietary requirements (*halal*).

The question of employers' respect of the religious customs was also explored in the Open Society Foundations survey (see Section 6.2). Here, the overall picture that emerged from the responses was that there are currently no standard practices or accepted norms in Denmark, with regard to employers' acceptance of religious symbols and practice in the workplace.

6.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen – employment policy and integration

Employment is one of the six “pillars” established in the Copenhagen City Council’s *Integration Policy 2007–2010*.²⁹⁹ According to this policy document, in 2005, 74 per cent of the native Danes of working age (men and women combined) in Copenhagen Municipality were employed, while the corresponding figure for immigrants from “non-Western” countries was far below this, at just 47 per cent.³⁰⁰ The picture was even more dismal for women from ethnic minorities. While 74 per cent of native Danish women in Copenhagen were employed in 2005, the corresponding rate for women from “non-Western” countries was just under 41 per cent.

²⁹⁷ Danish Federation of Labour Organisations, *Weekly Newsletter* 6/04.

²⁹⁸ Danish Federation of Labour Organisations, *Weekly Newsletter* 6/04.

²⁹⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*. For further details on this policy document, see Section 3.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

³⁰⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 11–12.

In its integration policy, the City Council prioritises the following initiatives, with the aim to close this identified gap in employment participation rates between native Danes and immigrants:

- *Focus on the labour market.* This initiative includes, first, a change in the local authorities' focus from identification of an individual's deficiencies (such as lack of Danish language skills or mental health problems), to an emphasis on that individual's competencies, and provision of proper information on opportunities and duties. Second, it includes more partnerships with private enterprises, in order to create different kinds of flexible job opportunities that facilitate the entry of persons from vulnerable groups into the job market.
- *Combating poverty and isolation.* This initiative includes specific efforts to help vulnerable groups obtain part-time employment, with the aim to break the cycle of isolation and poverty stemming from being on reduced social benefits for a long period of time. This includes long-term unemployed women, immigrants with a mental health diagnosis (such as post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD), and reunited families.
- *Focus on social housing areas with particularly high unemployment.* Under this initiative, additional resources should be invested in social housing areas where there is a high concentration of unemployment.
- *Focus on education and training for young people who are living on the lowest social benefits.*
- *Focus on Copenhagen City as an employer and a major customer.* With more than 40,000 employees, the Copenhagen City Council has a major opportunity to positively influence integration, through its own recruitment policy. The City Council also sought to encourage its 15,000 private sector suppliers to employ more immigrants, as a condition of remaining the Council's supplier.³⁰¹

In its 2009 report on the implementation of its integration policy, the Copenhagen City Council suggests two explanations for the lower employment rate for immigrants,

One is that there is a very large group of immigrants that has absolutely no contact with the labour market: More than one in three immigrants of employment age is outside the labour market, while the figure for Danes is just under one in five. The second explanation is that immigrants who are actually on the labour market are more likely than Danes to be unemployed. The unemployment rate in Copenhagen is approximately 6 per cent for Danes, compared with 19 per cent for immigrants. In addition to this, immigrants typically work in specific industries in which pay is often lower, job security

³⁰¹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 11–17.

poorer and skill enhancement opportunities fewer, compared to other industries.³⁰²

In its *Integration Policy 2007–2010*, the Copenhagen City Council had set itself the specific goal of increasing the employment rate for immigrants from “non-Western” countries by 10 per cent, by 2010 – to 59 per cent.³⁰³

A mid-term progress review (2008) found that initiatives implemented in support of this objective were mainly short-term projects, which would not improve the target group’s inclusion in the labour market or living conditions in the long run. By contrast, the review found that initiatives implemented on education and unemployed young people, and on including more immigrants in the City Council staff, seemed likely to be more successful, although these were also more limited in scope.³⁰⁴

According to an interview carried out by Open Society Foundations in September 2009, the employment situation for both men and women from ethnic minorities in Copenhagen improved slightly between 2006 and 2009.³⁰⁵ In 2006, 54.8 per cent of this group were registered as employed, while by February 2009 this had risen to the target set by Copenhagen City Council, 57 per cent.

Similarly, a survey carried out by the Danish Labour Organisation in March 2009 found that, until this date, the economic crisis had not yet had a negative impact on those members of ethnic minorities who were already in the labour market.³⁰⁶

A City Council review of the status of the integration policy, published in 2010, also notes that, as of February 2009, it had looked as if the policy goal would be attained.³⁰⁷ However, due to the recent economic crisis, which has impacted on overall unemployment levels, it was subsequently recognised that this would no longer be possible. According to the review, the overall proportion of unemployed citizens with a “non-Western” background decreased from 30 per cent of the total number of unemployed persons in Copenhagen in 2006, to 25 per cent in 2010. However, this change was due to increased unemployment rates among native Danes, while the number of unemployed citizens with a “non-Western” background has more or less stagnated since 2006.³⁰⁸ The review also found that, while there had been an overall

³⁰² City of Copenhagen, *Statusrapport 2009*, p. 12.

³⁰³ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 13.

³⁰⁴ City of Copenhagen, *Effektvurdering af Den tværgående integrationspulje*, (Effect evaluation of the cross cutting integration fund), Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen), December 2008, p. 11.

³⁰⁵ Interview with Pernille Kjelgård, Head of the Integration Secretariat in Copenhagen Municipality, in Copenhagen on 2 September 2009.

³⁰⁶ Federation of Labour Organisations, *Ugebrevet A4* (Weekly Newsletter A4), Federation of Labour Organisations (Landsorganisationen i Danmark), Copenhagen, March 2009.

³⁰⁷ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*, p. 10.

³⁰⁸ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*, p. 10.

decrease in the total numbers of immigrants in education and employment between 2009 and 2010, there had been a 8.1 per cent increase in the number of immigrant women enrolled in education or in employment since 2006.³⁰⁹

The review does not provide any indicators on the development of employment objectives in the *Integration Policy 2007–2010* paper regarding initiatives targeting poverty, marginalisation, or specific social housing areas. However, it does find that the proportion of people living on social benefits in the five social housing areas in Copenhagen defined as “vulnerable” had decreased from 49.6 per cent of inhabitants in 2007, to 41.3 per cent in December 2009.

Another City Council review, published by the Office for Employment Policy, reveals that, as of September 2010, the overall unemployment rate in Copenhagen was 8.1 per cent, while the corresponding rate for immigrants was 19.8 per cent.³¹⁰

The employment situation in Nørrebro District, where the Open Society Foundations survey was conducted, resembles that of Copenhagen City overall. However, there has been a notable improvement in the employment rates of female immigrants in this area. In February 2008, 47.9 per cent of female immigrants in Nørrebro District had a job, compared to 61.0 per cent of male immigrants. By August 2009, the employment rate for female immigrants had increased to 57.0 per cent, while that for male immigrant had remained stable at 60.6 per cent.³¹¹

Copenhagen – employment initiatives and projects

The following are some of the initiatives implemented by the Copenhagen City Council in support of the employment objectives set out in its *Integration Policy 2007–2010* (see above):

“Matching Project Integration” (*Matchingprojekt Integration*)

This project aims to match unemployed immigrants with private enterprises. It includes the establishment of partnerships, individual technical training or language support (for periods from 3–7 weeks), support for a mentoring scheme and partial wage subsidies during an introductory period, combined with a job guarantee if the employee participated in the agreed training.

The project was developed and tested in 2009, and has now been partly integrated into a mainstream programme called “The road to a job” (*Jobvejen*). The programme currently lasts 12 weeks and includes support in job application and counselling,

³⁰⁹ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*, p. 10.

³¹⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Nyt om beskæftigelsesindsats og arbejdsmarked, Kontoret for arbejdsmarkedspolitik, Review på beskæftigelsesindsatsen* (Review on measures concerning employment, Office for Employment Policy), Office for Employment Policy, City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 15 September 2010, pp.6–7, (hereafter City of Copenhagen, *Review on measures concerning employment*).

³¹¹ City of Copenhagen, *Review on measures concerning employment*.

meetings in business networks, and the opportunity to start in a trainee position or a job partly financed by the municipality. Participants receive a certificate that can be used in their future job applications.

In total, 480 people participated in the programme in 2010. Of these, 20-25 per cent of participants were self-supporting, three months after they had left the programme. The programme had expected that more than 300 participants would be able to access a partly public financed job, a trainee position or even an ordinary job in 2010. So far 120 participants have obtained a trainee position or a partly subsidised job position. A review of the programme stresses that it has been more successful in supporting immigrants, including Muslims, into ordinary jobs than native Danes.³¹²

Project "District Mothers" (*Bydelsmødre*)

Several projects have been initiated to help young immigrants start vocational education and training.

"District Mothers" is a successful project that combines training and part-time employment for up to seven hours a week, for 42 women, living in five different districts in Copenhagen Municipality. These women should then, in turn, seek out other immigrant women who live isolated in apartments in social housing associations, and engage them in local community and school activities.³¹³

The project is still ongoing in Nørrebro District. One "mother" participating in the project commented positively on the project's outcomes:

I have made a difference for several women in this project. Many mothers do not have access to information on the different services and educational initiatives targeting their children [...] it's about introducing migrants to the society outside their own door, and demonstrating to Danes that migrants can be a part of society.³¹⁴

The "District Mothers" Project has been successfully evaluated, and experiences from the project have been shared and disseminated at a conference.³¹⁵ However, in spite of its success, the Copenhagen City Council has not prioritised this Project in its next

³¹² City of Copenhagen, *Center for Afklaring og beskæftigelse* (Centre for clarification and occupation). Parts of this evaluation were forwarded to the Open Society Foundations by email on 25 October 2010.

³¹³ City of Copenhagen, *Fælles evaluering af Bydelsmødre* (Evaluation of the project "District Mothers"), Copenhagen City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2010.

³¹⁴ Kristoffer Kræn, *Det handler om at vise, at der er et samfund uden for døren* (It's about letting people know that there is a society outside the door), in *Information*, 19 October 2010, pp. 4–5.

³¹⁵ Center for Boligsocial Udvikling, *Projekt Bydelsmødre. En samlet evaluering* (Project "Bydelsmødre". A total evaluation), Center for Boligsocial Udvikling (Centre for Social Housing), Hvidovre, April 2010. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/931A4EF8-A8EE-4E2A-B073-A028A3C8DFD9/0/evaluering_af_bydelsmoedreprojekter.pdf (accessed 20 October 2010).

budget, for 2011–2012, favouring instead programmes targeting integration in 10 selected public schools and antidiscrimination activities. In December 2010, the Employment and Integration Administration succeeded in raising funds for the project to survive in 2011, using a more volunteer-based model. However, from 2012 it will have to run without any funding from the municipality.³¹⁶

Project “From second generation migrant to first generation craftsman”

(*From 2. Generations indvandrere til 1. generations håndværker*)

This is a network supporting more than 100 apprentices in building and construction at Copenhagen Technical College. The network aims to enable individual experiences to be shared, and strategies to be developed to prevent drop-outs and to overcome prejudices and conflicts between employers, colleagues, and apprentices.

Through the network activities, a number of major structural barriers have been identified. One is the basic concept that it is a student’s own responsibility to find a trainee position. Given that, in Denmark, it is customary to use one’s own private network in the sector to seek out such a position, this can exclude young people from ethnic minorities (see above). Another major problem identified is trainee experiences with racism and bullying. A 2010 review of the network found that trainees with a Muslim background experience ongoing comments on their race and religion, and are held personally responsible for what is happening in the Arab world. The review includes strategies for challenging these barriers.³¹⁷

Library project

In Nørrebro, and three other districts in Copenhagen City, four persons with an ethnic minority background have now gained permanent employment at public libraries as part of this initiative. Support is also provided for further job applications from people with a minority background.

This initiative aims to attract more library employees with an ethnic minority background, to establish innovative learning centres, and to develop the library services targeting ethnic minorities. It is monitored by the City Council and has been very

³¹⁶ Article in the daily newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, “Ghettoprojekter droppes i København” (Ghetto projects are closed down in Copenhagen), on 14 October 2010. Available at: <http://www.berlingske.dk/kobenhavn/ghettoprojekter-dropper-i-kobenhavn> (accessed 2 January 2011).

³¹⁷ Danish Construction Association, *Reviewrapport for projektet 'Fra 2. indvandrer til 1. generations håndværker* (Review report for the Project “From 2nd generation immigrant to 1st generation craftsman”), period: 1 October 2009 to 30 March 2010, Praktikpladsnetværket, Dansk Byggeri (Danish Construction Association), Copenhagen, December 2010.

successful. In 2009, more than 12,000 people participated in activities within the framework of this initiative – three times more than expected.³¹⁸

Engagement of academics in the Copenhagen City Council

In its *Integration Policy 2007–2010*, the Copenhagen City Council highlights that, through its own recruitment policy, the municipality has an opportunity to influence integration into the labour market. The policy includes the declared objective of achieving a workforce composition in the various sectors that reflects the composition of the city's population.³¹⁹ It is noted that in 2007 immigrants only accounted for 2.6 per cent of academics employed by the City Council, while the proportion of the city's immigrants who had a higher education was almost twice this figure.

To increase the number of academics in the administration with an ethnic minority background, the City Council now offers around 30 “integration and trainee positions” annually specifically to people with an immigrant background. A 2010 review of the City Council's integration policy found that a total of 90 people had been employed in academic and other positions over a three-year period. Furthermore, 50 trainee positions had been established across different administrative departments for young people with an ethnic minority background.³²⁰

Although the number of individuals with a “non-Western” background employed by the City of Copenhagen has increased from 9.5 per cent in 2007, to 12.8 per cent in 2010, these employees are still mainly to be found in unskilled jobs or in services with lower educational requirements. To overcome the gap with respect to academic positions, specifically, the City Council's 2010 review questions whether the 30 “integration and trainee” positions currently offered each year will be sufficient to move toward a workforce composition that better reflects the composition of Copenhagen's population.³²¹

³¹⁸ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Projekt review: Integrationsmedarbejdere i bibliotekerne” (Project review: Integration Employees at the Libraries). Available at: <http://projektbank.kk.dk/projektreview/Sider/Integrationsmedarbejdereibibliotekerne.aspx> (accessed 22 October 2010).

³¹⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 16.

³²⁰ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “‘Indsatsbanken’: 30 Integrations og oplæringsstillinger hvert år fra 2007–2009” (‘Collection of Integration Initiatives’: 30 integration and trainee positions every year from 2007–2009). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Integrationsindsatser/AktiveIndsatser.aspx> (accessed 22 October 2010).

³²¹ City of Copenhagen, *2010 Review of integration policy*, p. 10.

6.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

6.2.1 Employment and unemployment rate

The survey first asked respondents about their current employment status (see Table 24 below).

Table 24. Are you working for pay at the moment?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Yes – full-time employee	28	34	62
Yes – part time employee	14	14	28
Yes – self-employed	14	3	17
No – retired	5	16	21
No – on government employment or training programme	0	1	1
No – unemployed and looking for work	10	6	16
No – student	12	14	26
No – looking after the home or family	2	0	2
No – permanently sick or disabled	10	3	13
Other	5	9	14
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey responses indicate that more Muslims than non-Muslims were in full-time employment at the time of the survey (28 responses and 34 responses, respectively), while a similar number (14 respondents in each group) were in part-time employment.

A greater proportion of Muslims (14 respondents) than non-Muslims (3 respondents) were self-employed. This corresponds to the general employment situation of immigrants and refugees, both at the national level and in Copenhagen, specifically (see Section 6.1 above).

Similarly, a slightly higher proportion of Muslims (10 respondents) than non-Muslims (6 respondents) were unemployed and looking for work. Muslims were also more likely than non-Muslims (10 respondents and 3 respondents, respectively) to be permanently out of the labour market due to sickness or disability.

A starker contrast between the labour market participation of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents emerges when account is taken of the types of jobs undertaken by the survey respondents (see Table 25 below).

Table 25. What best describes the sort of work you do?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Routine manual and service occupations	37	8	45
Modern professional occupations	10	31	41
Clerical and intermediate occupations	12	19	31
Semiroutine manual and service occupations	17	10	27
Technical and craft occupations	2	11	13
Senior managers or administrators	4	7	11
Middle or junior managers	6	3	9
Traditional professional occupations	0	2	2
Sub-total (number of interviewees)	88	91	179
Question not applicable (this includes students, retired people, and women not going out to work)	12	9	21
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	100

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

Respondents were instructed to select the work category that best described their main current job, or, for those not currently working, their last job. For Muslims, the largest groups were in routine (37 respondents) or semiroutine (17 respondents) manual and service occupations. By contrast, the largest group of non-Muslim respondents were in modern professional occupations (31 respondents), followed by clerical or intermediate occupations (19 respondents).

6.2.2 Strategies for seeking employment

As well as asking respondents about their current employment, the survey also sought to understand the means by which respondents had obtained their jobs (see Table 26 below).

Table 26. How did you find your current job?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Through networks, social contacts, and family	34	31	65
Through personal initiative /application	19	24	43
Through the media in general	8	14	22
I am self-employed	12	8	20
Through my present workplace	7	10	17
Through employment exchange /centres	5	3	8
Through an educational establishment	1	4	5
By chance	1	0	1
Don't know / looking for a job	3	1	4
No response	10	5	15
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

From the data above, it is clear that that the largest proportion of the employed respondents (both Muslim and non-Muslim) relied on networks, social contacts, and their family to find their job. For both groups, the second highest proportion found their job by means of personal initiative or personal application. Few found jobs through the municipal employment exchanges.

As mentioned above (see Section 6.1), over the last decade network theory has gained increasing importance in explaining differences in labour market participation. The importance of establishing networks beyond one's own ethnic community was also emphasised in the Open Society Foundations focus group on education and employment.³²² A general concern raised was that immigrants generally lack such network relations with the wider Danish society.

³²² Open Society Foundations Focus Group A (males and females, aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

6.2.3 Barriers to employment

The survey also included questions aimed at identifying potential barriers to employment for Muslims. Survey respondents were first asked if they had ever been refused or turned down for a job in Denmark (see Table 27 below), and, if so, were also asked to provide further details on the reasons why they thought they had been unsuccessful (see Table 28 below).

Table 27. Have you been refused or turned down for a job in Denmark in the last five years?

	Muslim	Non-Muslims	Total
Yes	36	34	70
No	55	49	104
Don't know	2	1	3
Not applicable	7	16	23
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

About one third of respondents in each group (36 Muslims and 34 non-Muslims) reported that they had been refused a job in Denmark in the past five years.

These responses do, however, need to be interpreted cautiously. Although, overall, the majority of respondents responded negatively to this question, it is hard to determine how many respondents had, in fact, experienced a job-seeking situation in the past five years. In addition, as indicated in Table 24 above, relatively more Muslim than non-Muslims respondents indicated that they are self-employed.

Those who indicated that they had been refused a job in the past five years (36 Muslims and 34 non-Muslims), were then asked further about the reasons why they thought they had been unsuccessful (see Table 28 below).

The highest number of non-Muslims indicated a lack of general skills or education (12 respondents). By contrast, the highest number of Muslims indicated that their ethnicity had been the most important factor. In addition, when the “other” category was further broken down, a further four Muslims specified that the main factor was that they were “ethnic or religious people”.

Table 28. Do you think you were refused the job for any of the following reasons?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Lack of general skills/education	2	12	14
Your ethnicity	10	1	11
Your colour	5	5	10
Your age	3	3	6
Your religion	3	0	3
Your gender	0	2	2
Where you live	1	0	1
Other (please specify)	11	9	20
No response	1	2	3
Total (number of interviewees)	36	34	70

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *This question was only put to respondents who had responded in the affirmative to the previous question (see Table 27 above). Responses are sorted by total number of responses received.

The barriers to employment for individuals with an ethnic minority background were also discussed in the focus group on education and employment.³²³ One participant in this focus group, who has worked for several NGOs over many years, argued that the labour market position of migrants could not be explained by lack of qualifications alone, but was also due to a failure to recognise the qualifications that many immigrants held,

And if you look at the latest trends, those workers who migrate from Eastern Europe these days, they also face the same problems as those who have a different skin colour [...] they are exploited [...] they get 10-15 kroner per hour³²⁴ [...] they get 10-15 kroner per hour³²⁵

Another well-educated female participant in the same focus group observed that she had not personally faced discrimination in the employment market, but acknowledged

³²³ Comment from a participant from Focus Group A (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

³²⁴ By comparison, the minimum hourly wage in Denmark is, on average, 110 DKK (€14.80). Conversion using the exchange rate for January 2011 of €1 = 7.45 DKK.

³²⁵ Comment from a participant from Focus Group A (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

that discrimination was a problem in Danish society, and that this was exemplified by the situation in the health sector.³²⁶ Here, there is a high demand for labour and many Muslim women would like to work in this sector. However, the participant was of the view that the *hijab* debate, in national media and politics, as well as signals of distance from some native Danish patients toward Muslim staff wearing headscarves in hospitals, tended to inhibit the motivation of Muslim women to seek employment in this sector.³²⁷

Nonetheless, this focus group participant was not in favour of solving the problem of discrimination in the private labour market through legislative sanctions. Regarding prejudice against Muslims, she moderated her view by highlighting that this may often be the result of a misunderstanding, due to lack of knowledge. For example, in the context of a job hiring situation:

When someone [Muslim] for example, is [...] seeking to be employed, [he or she] risks being asked [questions like] “Fine! But are you also laying down [saying prayers] the whole day?” or “Is it a problem for you to greet a man, if you have to work with one?” etc., etc. There are prejudices, and [...] I do not think there should be a legal sanction.³²⁸

Her argument elicited some resistance from other focus group participants, who argued that discrimination was one of the biggest barriers to finding employment, and that a lack of support in existing legislation was contributing to the discriminatory behaviour, in violation of legal prohibitions against discrimination.

A participant from another focus group session drew attention to a newspaper story that confirmed job discrimination against women from ethnic minorities, in the following manner:

There is an official survey which indicates that three out of four Muslim immigrant women cannot find a job. They are well qualified for the job, you have the Danish Employment Industry Association themselves saying: “What is the reason behind this?” They are qualified, those women; they have taken courses to be able to enter the different branches; they are a kind of master in

³²⁶ Comment from a participant from Focus Group A (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

³²⁷ However, there is evidence that increasing numbers of individuals from ethnic minorities, including Muslims, are being employed in the health sector in Denmark. For example, around 50 per cent of the students enrolled annually (total approximately 400-500) at Copenhagen’s Social and Health Care College (Social og Sundhedsskolen i København) are currently ethnic minority students. For further details, see Section 8.1 of this report on health and social protection.

³²⁸ Comment from a participant from Focus Group A on (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

their own branch. But yet, they can't find a job. Why? Because they have a Muslim background or they have immigrant background.³²⁹

6.2.4 Respect of religious customs in the workplace

In the Open Society Foundations survey, respondents were also asked about their experience or views on how much employers respect the religious customs of their employees (see Table 29 below).

Table 29. To what extent do you think that employers respect different religious customs?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Too much	4	0	4
About right	43	37	80
Too little	36	37	73
Don't know	17	25	42
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

As noted above (see Section 6.1) research indicates that there remains scepticism on the part of non-Muslims about the rights that should be accorded to Muslims in the workplace, including the right to wear the *hijab*.³³⁰ However, the survey responses on this subject were more mixed.

In total, 47 Muslims indicated that employers respected the religious customs of their employees either too much or about right, as compared to 37 non-Muslims. Yet, a similar proportion (37 Muslims and 37 non-Muslims) indicated that religious customs were respected too little.

To understand these responses further, respondents were also asked to provide further information on why they maintained such an opinion (see Table 30 below).

³²⁹ Comment from a participant in Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

³³⁰ Danish Federation of Labour Organisations, "Lønmodtagere er ramte af muslim-forskrækkelse" (Wage-earners are hit by the Muslim fear), in *Ugebrevet* (Weekly Newsletter), A4, no. 200913, 6-13 April 2009, Danish Federation of Labour Organisations (Landsorganisationen i Danmark), Copenhagen, (hereafter, Danish Federation of Labour Organisations, *Weekly Newsletter* 6/04).

Table 30. Why do you think employers respect different religious customs to the extent they do?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
There is no respect for religious practice and symbols.	16	13	29
It all depends on the attitudes of the employer.	17	9	26
I do not experience any problem.	14	9	23
A general anti-Muslim sentiment. The media effect.	6	12	18
Because of my personal experience	10	5	15
The religious have difficulties in getting jobs. There is discrimination.	7	6	13
There is room for wearing religious symbols. It is tolerated.	3	7	10
I have no personal experience.	0	5	5
Even immigrants are employers today.	0	1	1
Other	6	4	10
Don't know	6	5	11
Total (number of responses)	94	98	192

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *For this question, some respondents indicated more than one factor. In total, 9 Muslims and 22 non-Muslims did not respond to this question. Responses are sorted by total number of responses received

The responses to this question were varied. Among Muslims, the most common reasons given in support of their view were either that this all depends on the attitudes of the employer (17 responses), or that there is no respect for religious practice and symbols in the workplace (16 responses), which was also the most common reason provided by non-Muslims (13 responses). Among non-Muslims, the second most common reason given was that their view was shaped by a general anti-Muslim sentiment and the media effect (12 responses).

The overall picture that emerges from these responses is that there are currently no standard practices or accepted norms in Denmark, with regard to employers' acceptance of religious symbols and practice in the workplace, and that this varies from one employer to another.

7. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HOUSING

Unfit housing conditions can increase ill health, while overcrowded housing can contribute to disadvantage in other areas. In overcrowded housing there is less space for young children to study, complete homework, or prepare for exams, affecting educational attainment and subsequent employability. Teenagers are also more likely to be outside in the streets and so are at increased risk of involvement with drugs and gangs. Furthermore, the lack of privacy and space in overcrowded housing can increase stress and affect mental health and family relationships. Homelessness, either living in the streets or in temporary accommodation, is a barrier to social inclusion. Beyond this, living in poor housing conditions can exacerbate factors that undermine social inclusion.

7.1 Background

This section (7.1) draws on official data, and information from recent studies and reports, on the housing of ethnic minorities in Denmark, as well as interviews carried out for this report. It is divided into two subsections: national research findings (7.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (7.1.2). The following section (7.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups.

7.1.1 National research findings

Housing trends for ethnic minorities

Minorities are often concentrated in socially deprived areas. In Denmark the largest number of socially deprived residential areas – also referred to as “vulnerable areas” – is to be found in the Copenhagen Municipality, as well as a few other neighbourhoods in surrounding municipalities (such as Greve Municipality).

According to a 2002 report of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, these socially deprived areas are inhabited by only 3.6 per cent of the overall population of Denmark, but by 25 per cent³³¹ of immigrants in Denmark with origins in “non-Western” countries.³³² By contrast, one third of the total population of Denmark resides in rural municipalities, while only 7 per cent of immigrants in Denmark with origins in “non-Western” countries live in these areas. Another statistic from this report is that two thirds of this minority population is concentrated in

³³¹ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*.

³³² It should be noted that the term “Western” here includes EU and some other European countries (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, and Vatican City), as well as the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. However, it does not include many European countries that are not currently EU members, such as the countries of the former Yugoslavia. See, for example: Danmark Statistiks, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, p. 599.

municipalities that have only one tenth of the total population of Denmark residing there.³³³

This report also notes that half of the migrant population with origins in “non-Western” countries live in the social housing built between 1966 and 1980.³³⁴

According to a 2001 report of the Ministry of Interior, these residential estates account for the largest share of neighbourhoods that can be defined as socially deprived – overrepresented by low-income households, long-term unemployed, single parents, alcoholics, and immigrants.³³⁵ Over the past few decades, there has been an increase in the concentration of socially marginalised groups, as well as immigrants, in these socially deprived areas.³³⁶

Research in Denmark indicates that the probability of a minority family moving out of a certain residential area decreases, where there is an increase in the numbers of newcomers from the same ethnic group arriving in the area.³³⁷ By contrast, the probability of native Danish households moving out of the area rises as the number of immigrants moving in to the area increases.

Since the late 1980s, there has been much public discussion in Denmark, and concerns expressed by politicians and the media, about the development of “ethnic ghettos” (see below). In addition, there have been complaints from several mayors from the industrial suburban municipalities of the south-eastern fringes of Copenhagen about what is referred to as the “Khomenisation” of residential areas.³³⁸

Some national politicians from the governing Liberal-Conservative coalition, supported by the populist nationalist and anti-immigrant Danish People’s Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF), have warned against – and in some cases even demonised – the

³³³ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*.

³³⁴ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *2002 Report*.

³³⁵ Danish Ministry of the Interior, *Årbog om udlændinge. Status og udvikling* (Annual report on foreigners. Status and development), Danish Ministry of the Interior, Copenhagen, 2001.

³³⁶ See: H. Hummelgaard and L. Husted. *Social og etnisk bestemte bosætning – årsager og konsekvenser* (The cause and effect of socially and ethnically determined settlement), Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 2001. Also: Boligselskabernes Landsorganisation (BL), *Analyse af situationen på boligmarkedet* (An analysis of the situation in the housing market), Boligselskabernes Landsorganisation (the Association of Housing Societies; BL), Copenhagen, 2001.

³³⁷ B. K. Graversen, H. Hummelgaard, D. Lemmich, *et al.*, *Residential Mobility in Danish Problem Housing Estates*, Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 1997.

³³⁸ Schierup, 1993.

development of a “parallel society” in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of people from ethnic minorities.³³⁹

Yet, despite this public interest, there is only limited research available on the housing situation of ethnic minorities in general, and of Muslims specifically, in Denmark.³⁴⁰

The areas referred to in mainstream media and in political debates as “ethnic ghettos” mainly comprise the low-rent social housing in which the poorer segments of Danish households living on welfare benefits, as well as the majority of the migrant groups, can afford to live. Nonetheless, in the media and in anti-immigrant political campaigns, Muslim culture, as epitomised in the expression “Khomenisation”, has been held mainly responsible for the alleged “ghettoisation”.

This common perception was challenged by a 2002 study, which found that the housing choice of minorities is not always a choice, based on their own preferences, but is, rather, influenced by a range of socioeconomic factors and sociostructural circumstances.³⁴¹

According to this research, a number of factors all play their role in the choice of residence. These include a disadvantaged position in the labour and housing market, general discrimination, especially in the private rental market, a fear of being isolated from those with whom one feels secure and protected, a lack of knowledge about the housing market, and a lack of resources to move to better dwellings.³⁴² In fact, for most Muslim households, the place of residence seems not to be a choice. Given their socioeconomic position in society, this is, in fact, mainly determined by the combination of factors outlined above.³⁴³ Muslims households are therefore heavily reliant on low-rent social housing, very often in the socially deprived neighbourhoods of the ethnically mixed urban areas.

National policy on housing for migrants

In Denmark there has not been a housing ministry since 2001. Currently, housing issues are partly dealt with by the Ministry of Social Affairs (*Socialministeriet*) and

³³⁹ See, for example, the newspaper article (long essay) by Omar Shah, “Parallel Samfund” (Parallel Society), in the newspaper *Politiken* (a liberal and influential national daily) on 29 June 2005. The essay is a critique of the political and media rhetoric on the alleged development of a parallel society. Omar Shah was, until recently, the Information Officer/Spokesperson for the largest Islamic centre and mosque in Nørrebro District (Copenhagen).

³⁴⁰ Schierup, 1993.

³⁴¹ S. K. Boerresen, *Boligmæssig segregering. Hvad er årsagen til, at flygtninge og indvandrere bor koncentreret i belastede boligområder?* (Segregation in housing: Why are the immigrants and refugees clustered in socially deprived neighbourhoods?), AMID Working Paper Series no. 14, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002, (hereafter Boerresen, 2002).

³⁴² Boerresen, 2002.

³⁴³ On this, see also: Andersen, 2008.

partly by the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority (*Erhvervs- og byggestyrelsen*), which is part of the Ministry of Economy and Business Affairs (*Økonomi – og erhvervsministeriet*). Strategies targeting social housing areas, which are referred to as “ghettos” by the government, are also dealt with by the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration (*Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen*).

In the early 1990s, successive national governments began to draft policies to restrict new immigrants from finding housing beyond the municipality allocated to them by the immigration and integration authorities, for a period of three years.³⁴⁴ These provisions made it possible for the municipalities to refuse to provide housing and social welfare benefits to anyone who did not comply with this residential restriction.

Under pressure from local politicians and media campaigns, in the first half of the 1990s the then government, headed by the Social Democrats, appointed a national urban committee (*Regeringens Byudvalg*), which in 1994 came up with a number of proposals to improve socially deprived neighbourhoods through various regeneration programmes.³⁴⁵ The declared aim of these proposals was to make various neighbourhoods more attractive for the “resourceful” native Danish families (meaning educated and skilled individuals, with a permanent job and a stable income) who were moving out of these stigmatised areas. However, an implicit objective was also to spread out ethnic minorities more evenly, across different localities.

These objectives were not achieved in practice due to a number of factors, but in particular the slow pace of upward social mobility among minority ethnic communities.³⁴⁶ In fact, there was, rather, a trend of downward mobility for minorities from “non-Western” countries during the recession of the 1980s, with the accompanying widespread unemployment among unskilled labourers.

From 2004, as part of the government’s “Strategy against ghettoisation” (*Regeringens strategi mod ghettosiering*), a new model for allocating flats was introduced in a number

³⁴⁴ Consolidated Act no. 1593, Law on the Integration of Foreigners in Denmark (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark*), of 14 December 2007, Chapter 3, *Boligplacering* (Residence Allocation). Text available (in Danish) at: <http://www.Retsinformation.dk> (accessed 5 April 2010).

³⁴⁵ H. S. Andersen, *Virkningerne af Byudvalgets indsats i almene boligafdelinger 1994-97* (The outcome of urban development committee’s recommendations for social housing associations 1994-9, SBI report no. 321, National Building Research Institute, Copenhagen, 1999).

³⁴⁶ I. Koch-Nielsen and I. Christiansen, *Effekten af den boligsociale indsats over for indvandrere og flygtninge* (The effects of social policy in the housing sector on the situation of the immigrants and refugees), AMID Working Paper Series no. 16, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002.

of social housing areas.³⁴⁷ These areas were selected by a national level Programme Committee (*Programbestyrelsen*), which used criteria such as employment and income in the assessment of prospective tenants. In 2005, a bill was passed that gave the municipalities permission to remove from the waiting lists for social housing people receiving certain social benefits – the “Start-help” or “Introduction” allowances.³⁴⁸ These are often migrant families. The municipality has a right to remove a person or a family on the waiting list if they have lived on certain social benefits for a continuous period of more than six months, and if the housing unit they want to move into is located in an area where a high proportion of residents are outside the labour market. The municipality must, in most cases, offer the rejected applicant another flat.

In addition to this new model for the allocation of flats in social housing areas, several “integration projects” have been supported by funds administrated by the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration. These include, for example, support for volunteer programmes targeting children, young people or women, such as those supporting the coaching of school children for homework or sports activities, or networks among isolated women in social housing areas.³⁴⁹

There is no documentation available on the social effects of the government’s policies against “ghettoisation” on those migrant families who are denied a flat because they receive certain social benefits, or the potential impact in terms of indirect ethnic discrimination.

In August 2010, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) requested that Denmark provide it with information on the impact of the policies against “ghettoisation”.³⁵⁰ In its report to CERD in June 2009, the government had stated:

[...] the government would like to emphasise that avoiding any discrimination or abuse as a result of the provisions of the Act is a high priority [...] For example, all the local councils enjoying the right to regulate the composition of

³⁴⁷ Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration, *Regeringens strategi mod ghettosiering* (The government’s strategy against ghettoisation), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, 2004, (hereafter Danish Ministry of Refugees, *Strategy against ghettoisation*).

³⁴⁸ Consolidated Act no. 610, Law no. 573 (of 24 June 2005) on social services, etc. (*Bekendtgørelse om lov om social service*) of 15 June 2005, Section 51b(1).

³⁴⁹ Website of the Danish Ministry for Refugees, Immigration and Integration, webpage with information on a collection of initiatives aimed at stimulating integration. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/integrationsfremmende_initiativer/integrationsindsatsen.htm (accessed 1st January 2011).

³⁵⁰ CERD, *Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under Article 9 of the Convention, Concluding observations of CERD concerning Denmark’s 18th and 19th periodic reports*, UN Committee to the Elimination of Race Discrimination (CERD), 27 August 2010. Available at: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/co/CERD-C-DNK-CO-18_19.doc (accessed 15 October 2010).

tenants are obliged to send annual reports to the Ministry of Welfare with information on the number of persons rejected, number of persons allocated another suitable dwelling, time limit etc.³⁵¹

In the report, the government also stated the following: “Various measures have been taken to ensure that Denmark fulfil its obligations in accordance with ICERD”.³⁵² However, there is no data in the report specifically on ethnicity – for example, whether more migrant families are on the waiting list than previously, or if migrant families are more frequently rejected from preferred housing than are native Danes.

The 2007–2008 annual report from Copenhagen City Council reveals that the number of people on the waiting list for social housing increased slightly over this period, from 20,322 to 22,172, and that the proportion of people on the waiting list who were living on social welfare benefits rose from 5.9 per cent to 6.7 per cent.³⁵³ However, this report does not provide further details regarding the ethnicity of those on the waiting list.

In 2010, both the government and opposition parties increased their focus on “ghettos” and presented new “ghetto strategies”. The government now defines a “ghetto” as an area where at least 50 per cent of the inhabitants are migrants, the unemployment rate is more than 40 per cent, and at least 270 out of 10,000 inhabitants has been convicted for a crime.³⁵⁴ According to this definition there are 29 “ghettos” in Denmark, of which 10 are in Copenhagen City, including three in Nørrebro District (Mjølnerparken, Aldersrogade, and Lundtoftegade).³⁵⁵

The government’s current “Strategy against ghettoisation” includes the demolition of buildings, and a strengthening of police efforts to overcome crime and improve safety

³⁵¹ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Eighteenth and Nineteenth periodic report of Denmark concerning the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination*, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Folketingets hjemmeside), June 2009, Paragraph 139, p. 32, (hereafter Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 19th Report to CERD). Available at <http://www.folketinget.dk/samling/20081/almdele/REU/Bilag/642/707942.PDF> (accessed 27 October 2010).

³⁵² Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *19th Report to CERD*, Paragraph 139, p. 32.

³⁵³ City of Copenhagen, *Evaluering af BL-aftalens virkninger i perioden primo 2007 – til ultimo 2008, Bilag A*, (Evaluation of the effect of the BL-agreement in the period from 2007 – 2008, Annex A), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, p. 8. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/eDoc/Besk%c3%a6ftigelses%20-%20og%20Integrationsudvalget/13-08-2009%2014.15.00/Referat/17-08%2009%2015.42.30/4599200.PDF> (accessed 20 October 2010).

³⁵⁴ Website of the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs. Available (in Danish) at: <http://www.sm.dk/Nyheder/Sider/Vis%20Nyhed.aspx?NewsItem=516> (accessed 19 October 2010).

³⁵⁵ Website of the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs. Available (in Danish) at: http://www.sm.dk/data/Dokumentertilnyheder/2010/29_udvalgte_omraader.pdf (accessed 19 October 2010).

in these areas.³⁵⁶ However, both the Chief of Police in Copenhagen, Johan Reimann, and researchers and social workers in the social housing area have disagreed with the politicians' hard rhetoric concerning "ghettos" and "parallel communities". Instead, they argue that solutions should be found in strategies for overcoming poverty in these social housing areas, which need to take into account the relatively high proportion of young people living in such areas, many of whom are poorly educated and do not have access to sports and club facilities to the same degree as do other young people in Denmark.³⁵⁷ For example, in Mjølnerparken (in Nørrebro District), more than half of the inhabitants are under the age of 18.

A 2010 evaluation focuses on the impact of the short-term funding programmes of social initiatives and rent subsidies in social housing, over the period of 2006–2010.³⁵⁸ Following political agreements in 2005 and 2006, these funds were distributed to 545 social housing areas by the fund administering savings for renovation in the social housing sector (*Landsbyggefonden*). The evaluation concludes that there have been some positive results from initiatives on vandalism, crime and integration, but that there is still an over-representation of people from socially vulnerable groups and a lack of integration of ethnic minorities in the areas referred to as "ghettos", as compared to the social housing sector as a whole. It recommends that regular, ongoing funding would be preferable in social housing areas, rather than short-term funding programmes.

The *Landsbyggefonden* has also stated that the government has not invested sufficiently in the social housing sector.³⁵⁹ Researchers in this sector have also called for the government to provide extra funding, if it really wants a positive impact in the social housing areas, and not just to rely on the tenants' own savings.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Website of the Liberal Party (Venstre), webpage "Statminister Lars Løkke Rasmussens tale ved Folketingets åbning tirsdag den 5. oktober 2010" (Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussens' speech at the opening of Parliament, 5th October 2010). Available at: http://stm.dk/_p_13260.html (accessed 15 October 2010).

³⁵⁷ See: C. Lehmann, "Hård retorik gør mere skade end gavn in Information" (Harsh rhetoric is harmful and good for nothing), in *Information.dk*, 12 October 2010. Available at: <http://www.information.dk/print/247552> (accessed 15th October 2010). Also: Marie Saehl, "Man har glemt at der er noget der hedder social arv" (They ignore social heritage) in the national daily, *Politiken*, 17 October 2010, p. 4.

³⁵⁸ G. Christensen *et al.*, "Boligsocialindsatser og huslejestøtte" (Initiatives and rent allowances in social housing), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), 2010. Available at: <http://www.sfi.dk/Default.aspx?ID=4681&Action=1&NewsId=2663&PID=9267> (accessed 17 October 2010).

³⁵⁹ DR News, "Staten bruger peanuts på ghettoidsats" (The Government uses peanuts on ghetto initiatives), 14 October 2010. Available at: <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Indland/2010/20/14/201144.htm> (accessed 17 October 2010).

³⁶⁰ B.G. Nielsen, "Ghettoer bliver økonomisk kampzone" (Ghettos becomes an economic combat zone), analysis in the national daily, *Politiken*, 16th October 2010, p. 4.

Discrimination in housing

There is significant evidence of discrimination in housing experienced by ethnic minorities. One periodic survey, carried out in 2004, found that over a quarter of individuals from ethnic minorities had encountered discrimination in housing.³⁶¹ Complaints about discrimination were mostly concerned with bypassing an applicant on the waiting list of a private housing society, on the grounds of the applicant's ethnic background.

In another survey, significant numbers of individuals from predominantly Muslim countries – 9 per cent of Bosnians, 22 per cent of Lebanese and Palestinians, 22 per cent of Turks, and 36 per cent of Somalis – reported that they have been discriminated against during contacts with housing societies and cooperatives.³⁶² The survey does not elaborate further on the precise nature of this discrimination.

Other research documents the incidents of discrimination reported to take place in day-to-day life in a neighbourhood.³⁶³

Discrimination in the housing market has also been highlighted in a report by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). In the Danish version of this report (2000), it states the following:

About 54 per cent of the dwellings in the Danish housing market are privately owned [...] but only 13 per cent of the refugees and 18 per cent of immigrants in the age group 15–66 own a private dwelling, compared to 67 per cent of the rest of the population. Members of the ethnic minorities residing in Denmark in the meantime meet difficulties in renting a dwelling because of the market conditions, housing restrictions and indirect discrimination. The minority members can get access only to *social housing*³⁶⁴ in less attractive residential quarters in the larger cities, which results in the fact that many first- and second-generation immigrants are clustered around in certain areas.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Catinét Research. *IntegrationStatus* (2004; 2005)

³⁶² Møller and Tøgeby, 1999.

³⁶³ See, for example: L. Hahnemann, *Racistisk chikane og vold i et boligområde* (Racial harassment and violence in a residential area), Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), Copenhagen, 1998.

³⁶⁴ The Danish term “almennyttig bolig”, translated here as “social housing”, refers to flats owned by non-profit housing associations, where the municipalities have a legal right to distribute a certain share of these flats at their own discretion, according to an assessment of need.

³⁶⁵ ECRI, *Second Report*, p. 19.

7.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen – housing policy

As of 1 January 2010 there were 528,208 inhabitants living in Copenhagen Municipality. Nørrebro District, where the Open Society Foundations survey was conducted, has the largest total population (72,887 inhabitants) of Copenhagen's 10 districts, and also the highest proportion of inhabitants who are immigrants or the descendents of immigrants (total 20,315, or 28 per cent of the district's population). By contrast, the lowest proportion of inhabitants who are immigrants or the descendents of immigrants is to be found in the districts of Vanløse (13 per cent) and Østerbro (16 per cent).³⁶⁶

In Copenhagen Municipality, housing policy concerning the integration of ethnic minorities, including Muslims, is closely related to national policy. From 2004, the Copenhagen City Council has implemented the strategies put forward in the government's "Strategy against ghettoisation" (see above).³⁶⁷

Housing is one of the six "pillars" detailed in the Copenhagen City Council's *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*. Here, the vision for housing is as follows:

As a city, Copenhagen will be a cohesive unit. The negative spiral in vulnerable housing areas is to be reversed. All housing areas in Copenhagen should contain diversity in terms of both inhabitants and types of housing.³⁶⁸

The integration policy highlights the high concentration of migrants in the public housing sector in Copenhagen, and notes that the highest concentration of people without a job (40 per cent unemployment) is to be found in the social housing areas. The policy identifies four different kinds of social housing areas in the city, ranked by decreasing rates of unemployment:

- vulnerable areas
- high-risk areas
- risk areas
- neutral areas³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ Copenhagen Business Centre, *Orientering fra Statistik: Folketal og boliger i bydele og roder samt folketal i skoledistrikter 1. januar 2010* (New on statistics: Population and districts and population in school districts January 1st, 2010), City of Copenhagen Business Centre (Københavns Kommunes Koncernsservice), Copenhagen, 2010. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/FaktaOmKommunen/KoebenhavnITaOgOrd/StatistikOmKoebenhavnOgKoebenhavnerne/Publikationer/-/media/3A46E3A08EFA488F8C4F6DD3F1DBF26A.ashx> (accessed 17th October 2010).

³⁶⁷ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *Strategy against ghettoisation*.

³⁶⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 25.

³⁶⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 25.

The integration policy includes the following two overall objectives on housing:

To have no new vulnerable areas in Copenhagen [and] to reduce the proportion of people in vulnerable housing areas who have no connection to the labour market by 10 per cent by 2010.³⁷⁰

To attain this objective, the policy identifies the following three measures:³⁷¹

1. Jobs for people who live in the social housing areas.
2. Fewer low resource inhabitants in vulnerable and high-risk areas.
3. Attracting “high resource” families³⁷² to vulnerable and high-risk areas.

These measures correspond directly to the measures promoted in the government’s “Strategy against ghettoisation”.³⁷³

Copenhagen – political initiatives on vulnerable housing areas

Several initiatives have been implemented by the Copenhagen City Council in the areas of social housing defined as “vulnerable”, in support of the housing measures outlined in the *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*. These include the following:

- “Combined rent” (*kombineret udlejning*) initiative. In practice, this allows a housing association to bypass tenants on the waiting list if they have been unemployed for a long period. The municipality will instead offer them housing in another area.
- “Flexible rent” (*fleksibel udlejning*) initiative. In practice, this means affirmative action towards new tenants who have a job, are studying, are elderly, or have been divorced and are in urgent need of an apartment.
- “Grant to move” (*flyttetilskud*). A grant of 15,000 DKK (€2,013³⁷⁴) is offered to families receiving social benefits who would like to move to a less vulnerable area in the city.

The implementation of these initiatives has not yet been evaluated, but in a review report the municipality stresses that the number of individuals with no job living in

³⁷⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 26.

³⁷¹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 27.

³⁷² The term “high resource” is applied to educated and skilled people, with a permanent job and a stable income.

³⁷³ Danish Ministry of Refugees, *Strategy against ghettoisation*.

³⁷⁴ Conversion using the exchange rate for January 2011 of €1 = 7.45 DKK.

vulnerable housing areas declined in the period from 2006 to 2008, but increased subsequently due to the recent economic crises.³⁷⁵

In August 2010, the Copenhagen City Council released a new draft integration policy, *Integration Policy (2011–2014)*.^{376,377} Here, the City Council underlines that, from 2006 to 2009, the number of “vulnerable” areas (as defined in the 2007 integration policy paper – see above) has declined from five to two.

Using the government’s new definition of a “ghetto” (see above), the City Council has now been given permission to use the national level strategies against “ghettos” to change the social composition of the population in the 10 areas defined as “ghettos” in Copenhagen Municipality.

In the new draft integration policy, the City Council states that access to housing for people on social benefits (*kontanthjælp*) will be restricted in six “vulnerable” social housing areas. However, it is noted that the objective is not to change the ethnic composition in these social housing areas, only the social composition.³⁷⁸

In this draft policy, the City Council also highlights the challenge posed by the fact that more than one third of the inhabitants in the “vulnerable” social housing areas are aged under 18, while in the municipality as a whole the corresponding proportion is one fifth. Many future initiatives will therefore target children and young people in selected areas, while others will target unemployed and other socially vulnerable people in these areas. There will also be initiatives aimed at moving public sector jobs to these areas and also making it attractive for more private businesses to be established.³⁷⁹

Copenhagen – housing projects

In addition to the above-mentioned measures aimed at changing the social composition of the population in the social housing sector, the Copenhagen City Council has also implemented initiatives to support the “local regeneration” of the social housing areas, by supporting development and investment in local communities.

A wide range of projects had been initiated. In 2010, a total of 231 completed projects and 53 ongoing projects were recorded. There were also 60 “integration projects”

³⁷⁵ See the website of the City of Copenhagen. Available at: <http://193.169.154/bif/indsatsbanken/sider/default.aspx?Ild=92> (accessed 20 October 2010).

³⁷⁶ See also Section 3.4 of this report on Copenhagen City Council. City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*.

³⁷⁷ The Open Society Foundations was informed, after the cutoff date of this report, that this new Integration Policy was adopted by Copenhagen City Council on 16 December 2010.

³⁷⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*, p. 11.

³⁷⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*, p. 13.

(completed or ongoing) financed by the Ministry of Integration.³⁸⁰ Some of these projects have been externally evaluated, but most have not. They mainly consist of measures to promote social, cultural, and sporting activities, to improve the access of migrant women to the job market,³⁸¹ or to support clubs for children, young people, women, or senior citizens.

In Nørrebro District, projects include a club for elderly Arabic-speaking men. Also, a network that provides homework coaching for school children and organises trips for them, such as to museums, and youth clubs providing street activities for young people aged 13-18, who were found to be hanging around in the streets. In 2009–2010, 18 street teams involved almost 350 youngsters in activities such as music, break dancing, street basketball and street football, aimed at introducing the participants to more formalised youth activities in existing youth and sports clubs.

Copenhagen – voices from Nørrebro District

Among the six “vulnerable” social areas (see above) identified in the Copenhagen City Council’s *Integration Policy (2000–2010)*, three are located in Nørrebro District – Mjølnerparken, Lundtoftegade, and Aldersrogade. These three areas are also referred to as “ghettos”, according to the government definition of the term (see above).³⁸² Approximately nine per cent (6,500 inhabitants) of the total population of Nørrebro District were living in these three areas in 2008.³⁸³

In Mjølnerparken, approximately 92 per cent of the total population (2,050 people in 2008) are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. This is far more than in Nørrebro District as a whole, where the corresponding proportion is 28 per cent. The largest national groups in Mjølnerparken have origins in Lebanon (34 per cent), Iraq (15 per cent) and Somalia (11 per cent). More than half of the inhabitants are aged under 18, and only 4 per cent are aged 65 years or above. The average income in Mjølnerparken is 20 per cent lower than the average income in the vulnerable social housing areas as a whole.³⁸⁴ Mobility into and out of the area is very low – mainly young people aged 18-24 who move away from the area.

³⁸⁰ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Projektbank for Integration” (List of Integration Projects). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Projektbank.aspx> (accessed 31 December 2010).

³⁸¹ For further details, see Section 6.1 of this report on employment.

³⁸² Website of the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs. Available (in Danish) at: http://www.sm.dk/data/Dokumentertilnyheder/2010/29_udvalgte_omraader.pdf (accessed 19 October 2010).

³⁸³ Danish Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, *Fra udsat boligområde til hel bydel*, (From vulnerable social housing area to coherent district), Programbestyrelsen (Programme Committee), 2008, (hereafter Danish Ministry for Refugees, *Vulnerable social housing*). Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/87536727-F400-4F3A-9A2C-895BB138DEEC/0/fra_udsat_boligomraade_til_hel_bydel.pdf (accessed 20 October 2010).

³⁸⁴ Danish Ministry for Refugees, *Vulnerable social housing*.

In 2010, politicians and the media paid significant attention to Mjølnerparken, as well as other social housing areas in Denmark (such as Vollsmose in Odense and Gjellerup in Aarhus) with a high proportion of Muslim residents.³⁸⁵ There are frequent reports about living conditions in these social housing areas, but not often from the perspective of those who actually live there. However, below are a few examples from the recent public debate. These support the findings of the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups conducted in Nørrebro District (see Section 7.1 below) that, although many people living there did not choose to move to this area, they generally like living there.

It has been nice to grow up in Mjølnerparken. We all know and protect each other – as one big family. But it's not only good, because although we experience solidarity among people living in Mjølnerparken we also feel that we are profiled by people outside the area even though you are not involved in any crime. The rest of the society does not accept me, when I live here. Whatever you do, you are looked upon as a loser [...] The way they talk about "ghettos" – where we live – it's as if we are a world of our own – and we do not want to have that feeling [...]. *Ahmad Abdolkhalek, a young boy who has lived his whole life in Mjølnerparken District.*³⁸⁶

During the daytime, Mjølnerparken is safe and wonderful. People move around without problems, kids are playing in the streets, etc. The problem is a small group of bored youngsters who make problems during the night [...] *Ali Sleimann, who has lived in Mølnerparken for 15 years and is father to four children aged 10 to 20 years old.*³⁸⁷

Demolition of houses will create a situation where common, law-abiding citizens will have to leave their homes. The problems here are related to a small group of young people of my own age, and youngsters coming from outside the area. I do not think that the majority living here create any problems [...]. *Saleef Hussain, aged 25, who has lived in Mjølnerparken most of his life.*³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ See, for example: C. Lehmann, "Hård retorik gør mere skade end gavn" (Harsch rhetoric harm and is good for nothing), in *Information*, 12 October 2010. Available at: <http://www.information.dk/print/247552> (accessed 15 October 2010); Also: Marie Saehl, "Man har glemt at der er noget der hedder social arv" (They ignore social heritage), article in the national daily, *Politiken*, 17 October 2010, p. 4

³⁸⁶ DR News, "Tårnhøje antal unge i ghettoerne" (Huge number of young people in the ghettos), 15 October 2010. Available at <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Indland/2010/10/15/100454.htm> (accessed 20 October 2010).

³⁸⁷ K. Kræn, "Beboerne i Mjølnerparken ser med gru og glæde på ghetto plan" (Citizens look upon the ghetto plan with fear and joy), article in *Information*, pp. 4–5, on 6 October 2010.

³⁸⁸ K. Kræn, "Beboerne i Mjølnerparken ser med gru og glæde på ghetto plan" (Citizens look upon the ghetto plan with fear and joy), article in *Information*, pp. 4–5, on 6 October 2010.

7.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

7.2.1 Housing situation

Respondents to the survey were first asked about their current housing arrangements (see Table 31 below).

Table 31. Do you own or rent your home or have another arrangement?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Rent public/social housing	69	37	106
Rent private landlord	5	20	25
Own – with mortgage/loan	5	7	12
Own outright	4	5	9
Part rent, part mortgage (shared equity)	7	1	8
Living with parents/siblings	10	7	17
Other**	0	22	22
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Notes: *Sorted by total number of responses.

**This includes municipal homes for the elderly, collectives, hostel rooms, and official residences

According to the survey responses, only an insignificant proportion of respondents (9 Muslims and 12 non-Muslims) live in a self-owned residence. This data indicates that the majority of respondents (both Muslim and non-Muslim) are in the low-income demographic, with a majority (74 Muslims and 57 non-Muslims) living in rented accommodation.

A majority of the Muslims surveyed (69 respondents), and a smaller number of the non-Muslims (37 respondents), live in flats allocated by the municipal authorities, in social housing, or public rented property.

7.2.2 Satisfaction with housing arrangements

Respondents were also asked for their main reason for living in Nørrebro (see Table 32. below).

Table 32. What is your main reason for moving to/living in this local area?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
I did not choose	21	11	32
Social housing was offered to me	15	7	22
Parent's house/decision	11	7	18
Near family	8	4	12
Born here/always lived here	4	7	11
Nice area	4	6	10
Marriage/living with partner	2	6	8
Multicultural area	2	4	6
Near work	4	2	6
Cost	1	4	5
Near school	3	2	5
Liked the house	2	3	5
Other	23	33	56
No response	0	4	4
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses.

A wide range of responses were recorded. Of Muslims, 21 respondents stated they had no choice in their place of residence, while 15 respondents indicated that they lived where they did because they had been offered social housing and another 11 respondents because this had been their parents' decision.

Among non-Muslims, 11 respondents stated that they had no choice in their place of residence, while 7 respondents reported that they lived where they did because they had been offered social housing and another 7 respondents because this had been their parents' decision.

The responses to this question lend some support to the implication discussed above (see Section 7.1), that many residents in socially deprived areas have little control over their choice of place of residence. Many survey respondents did not choose their place of residence, but lived in the area mainly because they had been offered social housing.

Nonetheless, the vast majority of survey respondents (90 Muslims and 94 non-Muslims) indicated that they were satisfied with the multicultural and multiethnic neighbourhood in which they lived (see Table 33 below).

Table 33. Would you say this is a neighbourhood that you enjoy living in?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Yes, definitely	47	74	121
Yes, to some extent	43	20	63
No	10	5	15
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Finally, respondents were asked what would be the three measures that they would most like the Copenhagen City Council to take to improve their neighbourhood. Of the 148 respondents who answered this question, the four highest preferences were for the following:

- improvement of housing conditions and more green areas (29 responses)
- better understanding, cooperation, and harmony between the various ethnic communities (24 responses)
- better safety and security in the area (19 responses)
- better facilities for children and young people (18 responses)

Again, the survey responses indicate that the residents of Nørrebro, both Muslims and non-Muslims, seem to be mostly satisfied with this area. Interestingly, this is contrary to the negative public image of the area as an “ethnic ghetto”, with street shootings among criminal gangs, police chases involving young people from ethnic minorities, and a so-called parallel society of Muslims and immigrants.³⁸⁹

A similar impression was also apparent from the focus group carried out among older women living in Mjølneparken, an area that is constantly in the news as a vulnerable and troublesome neighbourhood of Nørrebro.³⁹⁰ The participants in this focus group did mention that, because of the bad reputation of this neighbourhood, insurance

³⁸⁹ For further details, see Chapter 9 on policing and security issues.

³⁹⁰ Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

companies often refuse to insure their homes against fire and burglaries. However, one of the group participants claimed that she felt safer walking alone in the middle of the night in this area than would have been the case in a city in her country of origin.

The focus group participants did not find it problematic to be living among so many different ethnonational groups, but only a few native Danes. Rather, they were apprehensive of the Copenhagen City Council's plan to disperse "foreigners" and Danes more evenly across the residential quarters (see Section 7.1 above for further details). As one of the participants put it:

In our area [Mjølneparken], the majority are foreigners; that is why we are very safe here; we are safe in every respect; we have no problems of any sort. I think if we move out to a Danish area, we might face some problems in our lifestyle, in parking [...] [Here] we say our *salaam* [Islamic greetings] to each other; we sit together. But the Danish are a people who, to a large extent, keep themselves to themselves; they do not integrate with others, or at least, very rarely and with great difficulty. Even if you live with them in one building for 25 years, unless you greet them, they will not be the first to greet you. However, this is not a reason to feel unsafe.³⁹¹

³⁹¹ Participant from Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

8. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

Access to adequate healthcare is important to social inclusion. Long term illness impacts on people's opportunities for economic and social participation, reducing employment opportunities and income levels which in turn affect people's opportunities for social and leisure activities.

8.1 Background

This section (8.1) draws on official data, and information from recent studies and reports, on the situation regarding health and social protection of ethnic minorities in Denmark, as well as interviews carried out for this report. It is divided into two subsections: national research findings (8.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (8.1.2). The following section (8.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups.

8.1.1 National research findings

National health policy

Under Danish welfare legislation, all citizens and resident non-citizens are entitled to equal protection in case of illness and emergency situations. In other words, the universal provision of social security and health insurance applies to all who are residing legally in the country.

There is no national health strategy targeting ethnic minorities specifically.

There is some anecdotal evidence that members of minority ethnic groups do still sometimes encounter problems in accessing healthcare and social protection.³⁹² However, no systematic research has been conducted to verify these allegations.

One quantitative survey, carried out in 1999 among various ethnonational groups of immigrants,³⁹³ reported that a number of respondents from mainly Muslim countries claimed to have experienced either hostile or adverse attitudes in the health systems,³⁹⁴ or an incident of "racial" discrimination during their encounters with the social services

³⁹² For example, the author of this report, Mustafa Hussain (lecturer at Roskilde University), has repeatedly heard individual stories of alleged discrimination in the context of many seminars on ethnic relations and discrimination, organised from the late 1980s on by minority organisations (most of which no longer exist).

³⁹³ This survey was based on a standardised questionnaire. See: Møller and Togeby, 1999.

³⁹⁴ About 12–16 per cent of respondents from Bosnia, Turkey, Lebanon, and Palestine. Møller and Togeby, 1999.

of their municipalities, which are the primary contact points for issues regarding social protection.³⁹⁵

Although ethnic minorities enjoy many formal rights, informal barriers influence the access to, and quality of, the health services that they enjoy in practice.³⁹⁶ One of the main barriers relates to language.

A number of research studies have highlighted that language barriers and communication problems can make it difficult to diagnose and treat patients from minority communities.³⁹⁷

Recent research and evaluations have underlined the importance of patients receiving information on health issues in a language that they understand³⁹⁸ and the risk of misdiagnosis when immigrants do not have access to interpretation.³⁹⁹

However, Parliament has recently passed a law that reduces the right of immigrants to free interpretation at consultations with private practitioners or at hospitals.⁴⁰⁰ From June

³⁹⁵ In total, 14 per cent of Bosnians, 19 per cent of Turks, 24 per cent of Lebanese and Palestinians, and 38 per cent of Somalis. For these Muslim groups, these were the highest per centages recorded for incidents of alleged discrimination, of all the institutional domains covered by the questionnaire. Møller and Togeby, 1999.

³⁹⁶ T. Holmberg, N. Almark, and T. Curtis, 'State of the art report' – *Etniske minoriteters sundhed i Danmark* ('State of the art report' – Language barriers between health staff and foreign language speaking patients), Government Institute for Public Health (Statens Institut for Folkesundhed), University of Southern Denmark (SDU), Esbjerg, May 2010. Available at: http://www.sifolkesundhed.dk/upload/state_of_the_art_etniske_minoriteters_sundhed_i_danmark_.pdf (accessed 26 October 2010).

³⁹⁷ See: M. Skytte, *Sociale indsatser i forhold til de allersvageste blandt de etniske minoriteter* (Social measures for the most vulnerable among the ethnic minorities), AMID Working Paper Series no. 29, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002, (hereafter Skytte, 2002(a)). Also: A. Barfod and O. Leimand, *Sindslidende indvandrere og flygtninge* (Immigrants and refugees with a mental disorder), Social Development Centre (SUS), Copenhagen, 1996, (hereafter Barfod and Leimand, 1996); and A. Barfod, *Integration, Rummelighed og Tolerance* (Integration, broadness and tolerance), Fagligt netværk Socialpsykiatri (Professional Network of Social Psychiatry), Social Development Centre (SUS), Copenhagen, 1997, (hereafter Barfod, 1997). Also: A. Barfod and L. Persson, *Etniske sindslidelse i kommunerne* (The mental disorders of ethnic minorities across the municipalities), Social Development Centre (SUS), Copenhagen, 2000, (hereafter Barfod and Persson, 2000).

³⁹⁸ Folkesundhed København, *Evaluering af 'Sundhed på dit Sprog'*, (Evaluation of "Health in your Language"), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2008.

³⁹⁹ The National Health Board, *Temarapport 2007: Sprogbarrierer mellem sundhedspersonalet og fremmedsprogede patienter*, (Thematic Report 2007: Language barriers between health staff and non-Danish speaking patients) the National Health Board (Sundhedsstyrelsen), Copenhagen, 2007. Available at: http://www.sst.dk/publ/Publ2007/EFT/DPSD/Sprogproblemer_temarapport.pdf (accessed 26 October 2010).

2011, people who have lived in Denmark for more than seven years will have to pay for interpretation themselves. The government's latest periodic report to the UN Standing Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), in 2009, comments on immigrants' right to interpretation, but does not mention this new law.⁴⁰¹

Furthermore, following an agreement between the government and the Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF), from May 2010 there is an annual reduction in interpretation expenses in the public sector of 15 million DKK. Professionals in the health sector have warned that this reduction will affect the most vulnerable members of ethnic minorities, harm patients' security, and may in the long run lead to higher public expenses rather than savings.⁴⁰²

Economic factors can also impact on access to health services by ethnic minorities. Since 2002, national policy has aimed at cutting social benefits for immigrant families.⁴⁰³ According to available research, this has led to increased poverty among vulnerable immigrant families, which include many Muslim families.

One recent report (2010) reveals that many of those receiving the lowest social benefits,⁴⁰⁴ which have been introduced over the last 6-8 years, are refugees or immigrants, including many Muslim families. Poor health, lack of education, lack of experience with the Danish labour market, and language problems were factors determining the life situation of those interviewed.⁴⁰⁵ For example, one 2008 study found that 24 per cent of those who had lost their benefits due to the so-called "300

⁴⁰⁰ Law no. 95, the Health Law (*Sundhedsloven*), of 7 February 2008, Chapter 10, Article 50(2). Text available (in Danish) at: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=114054> (accessed 26 October 2010).

⁴⁰¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *19th Report to CERD*, Section 144, p. 33.

⁴⁰² E. Rotbøll, "Ekspert: Tolkebesparelser kan koste dyrt" (Experts: Savings at interpretation can be costly), in *Information*, 13 June 2010.

⁴⁰³ For further details, see Section 3.2 on national policy on immigration and integration.

⁴⁰⁴ These include "Start-help" (*Start hjælp* – for further details, see Section 3.2 on national policy on immigration and integration); "Ceiling for social benefits" (*Kontanthjælpsloft* – a rule targeting persons who have received social benefits for more than 6 months); and the "300/450 hours regulation" (*300/450 timers reglen* – see below).

⁴⁰⁵ M. Müller, "Livet på de laveste sociale ydelser – en kvalitativ undersøgelse om livsbetingelser og copingstrategier" (About living at the lowest social benefits – a quantitative survey on life conditions and coping-strategies), University of Copenhagen, Roskilde University, Aalborg University, CASA, May 2010. Available at: http://www.casa-analyse.dk/files/rapporter-social-arbejdsmarked/2010/livet_paa_de_laveste_ydelser.pdf (accessed 13 October 2010).

hours regulation”⁴⁰⁶ reported that their ability to work was reduced because of poor health.⁴⁰⁷

Another study (2009) concludes that people receiving these lowest social benefits suffer great privations in their everyday life due to lack of money.⁴⁰⁸ For example, 65 per cent of this group cannot afford to go to the dentist, as compared to only 8 per cent of those on regular unemployment benefits. Similarly, 25 per cent of those on the “Start-help” (*Start hjælp*) allowance cannot afford to buy the medicine they need, as compared to 6 per cent of those on regular unemployment benefits and 2 per cent of the employed.

In its 2009 report to CERD, the government states that it intends to uphold the “starting allowance” as “an important tool to motivate persons receiving cash benefits to seek employment”.⁴⁰⁹

Another research project (2009) concludes that, in spite of the economic boom until 2008, more children are suffering from relative poverty in Denmark.⁴¹⁰ The report concludes that political measures such as the “Start-help” allowance are directly influencing the economic situation of poor immigrant families, and predicts that

⁴⁰⁶ In March 2006 a new bill, popularly known as the “300 hours regulation”, came into force: Law no. 239 on changes to the Law on active social and employment policy (*Ændring af lov om aktiv beskæftigelsesindsats og lov om aktiv social politik*), of 27 March 2006, Article 13(8). According to the bill, in cases where both partners in a married couple live on social benefits, one partner will lose the right to benefits, if they have had less than 300 hours employment within the last two years. Subsequently, in 2008, as part of the government’s agreement with the Danish People’s Party on tightening Danish immigration policy, this requirement of 300 hours employment was raised to 450 hours.

⁴⁰⁷ H. Bjerregård Bach and B. Larsen, *300 timers reglen. Betydning af 300-timersreglen for gifte kontanthjælpsmodtagere*, (The 300 hours regulation. The consequences of the 300 hours regulation for married persons receiving social benefits), the National Centre for Social Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2008.

⁴⁰⁸ The report finds, for example, that, when tax, rent, and other fixed costs has been paid, 41 per cent of the beneficiaries of the “Start-help” (*Start hjælp*) allowance have less than 1,700 DKK (€229) left each month for food, clothes, sports, and social activities. By contrast, a person in employment has, on average, 6,000-7,000 DKK (€810-945) more per month. See: CASA, *Konsekvenser af de laveste sociale ydelser – forsørgelsesgrundlag og afsavn* (Consequences of the lowest social benefits – basis for support and privation), Center for Alternativ Samfundsanalyse (Centre for Alternative Social Science Research; CASA), Copenhagen, 2009. Available at: http://www.casa-analyse.dk/files/pdf/Konsekvenser_af_de_laveste_sociale_ydelser-forsorgelsesgrundlag_og_afsaavn.pdf (accessed 3rd September 2009).

⁴⁰⁹ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *19th Report to CERD*, Sections 125 and 126, p. 29.

⁴¹⁰ For example, in 2002 the proportion of poor children among immigrants was four times that among native Danes, but by 2006 this had increased to five times among native Danes. See: SFI, *Børnefattigdom i Danmark 2002–2006* (Poverty among children in Denmark 2002–2006), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2009. Available at: <http://www.sfi.dk/Default.aspx?ID=4681&Action=1&NewsId=2177> (accessed 3 September 2009).

increasing prices will disproportionately harm this group. It recommends a specific focus on this group of children.

Research on the health situation of minorities

The health situation of ethnic minorities and of Muslims in particular is another area of research that has been under-explored in Denmark for many years. However, it is now receiving greater attention from both the medical profession and the social sciences.

The few social science studies conducted in the 1980s concerning the health situation of minorities were mainly of an anthropological nature. These covered some topics specific to Muslims, such as the encounter between traditional Muslim culture and modern Danish hospitals, and superstitious belief systems about illness and health among Muslim. Also, more generally, the use of amulets among immigrants, to guard against the “evil eye”, and the concepts of “hot” and “cold” food and beverages, which are believed, by members of several Asian cultures, to influence the body.⁴¹¹

Today, the research focus has turned more to the real-life health problems prevalent among Muslim immigrants and their descendants (see below). Topics include complications during birth and pregnancy, frequently diagnosed diseases among immigrant communities, such as diabetes and cardiovascular problems, and specific risks due to diet and lifestyle. A good deal of medical research on these topics is already in progress at various medical faculties and research institutes across Denmark.

One development of particular note is the establishment, in 1997, of the interdisciplinary and independent Institute of Public Health at Copenhagen University. This has led to new resources being allocated to this field. In addition, and unlike the situation in the past, the research now being undertaken at the Institute is more coordinated and systematic. From 2006, the Institute has also maintained an electronic database exclusively on health and ethnic minorities, with the aim to update medical research and publications on the health situation of ethnic groups.⁴¹² In 2010, a new research centre on migration, ethnicity and health (MESU) opened at Copenhagen University.⁴¹³

A number of studies have highlighted specific issues affecting the health situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark, including Muslims.

⁴¹¹ See, for example, the following publication, including its bibliographical references: B. Elverdam, *Institutioner og Traditioner. Muslimske Kvinders møde med danske hospitaler og praksislæge* (Institutions and Traditions: Encounters between the Muslim women and Danish hospitals and the general practitioners), SHFR and Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 1991.

⁴¹² Institute of Public Health at Copenhagen University, electronic database exclusively on “Health and the Ethnic Minorities”. Available at: http://www.pubhealth.ku.dk/ifsv_en/ (accessed 1 November 2010).

⁴¹³ See the website of the Danish Research Centre for Migration, Ethnicity and Health (MESU) at Copenhagen University. Available at: <http://mesu.ku.dk/> (accessed 1 November 2010).

One study (1998) provides evidence of the positive effects of having female health visitors for mothers from minority communities.⁴¹⁴ According to this study, for many migrant families female health visitors can provide a valuable “bridge” to the surrounding society and its institutions. They are also a resource for information about indirect matters, such as how to secure a place in a nursery or apply for better housing as the family grows.

A more recent study (2002) finds other benefits that arise from having a female health visitor, including ensuring the timely vaccinations of babies and a reduced level of hospitalisation.⁴¹⁵ Female health visitors thus provide both timely guidance to safeguard against health risks, which in turn can reduce the frequency of visits to doctors and hospitals, and also useful information about indirect administrative issues.

The 2002 study also highlights the communication difficulties that arise for some first generation migrants, due to their lack of proficiency in the Danish language.⁴¹⁶ A main recommendation from this study is for the provision of qualified interpreters by the municipal social services and hospitals, as this can reduce the levels of unnecessary hospitalisation for patients from minority ethnic communities.

A few other studies have also highlighted that language barriers and communication problems can make it difficult to diagnose and treat patients from minority communities.⁴¹⁷

Care of elderly minorities

Two recent studies on the care of elderly individuals from ethnic minorities provide some relevant findings.

A 2009 study looks at the extent to which elderly individuals from ethnic minorities, including many Muslims, benefit from available health and social care services to the same extent as do native Danes.⁴¹⁸ The study concludes that this group makes far less use of available public services than do native Danes and provides two main

⁴¹⁴ K. J. Jeppesen and A. Nielsen, *Etniske minoritetsbørn I Danmark – det første leveår* (Ethnic Minority Children in Denmark – The first year of life), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 1998.

⁴¹⁵ A. Nielsen, *Sundhedsvæsenet og de etniske minoriteter* (The health system and ethnic minorities), AMID Working Paper Series no. 28, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002, (hereafter Nielsen, 2002).

⁴¹⁶ Nielsen, 2002.

⁴¹⁷ See: Skytte, 2002(a); and Barfod and Leimand, 1996. Also: Barfod, 1997; and Barfod and Persson, 2000.

⁴¹⁸ The study was based on Open Society Foundations Focus Group interviews carried out in Copenhagen City with 29 elderly individuals from different language groups. It was based on statistical data from the Copenhagen City Council and Statistics Denmark. See: E. B. Hansen and G. Siganos, *Ældre danskere og indvandreres brug af pleje- og omsorgsydelser* (The use of health and care services by elderly Danes and immigrants), AKF Working Paper, Danish Institute for Governmental Research (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning; AKF), Copenhagen, 2009.

explanations. First, individuals from this group tend to be less familiar with the services offered and, second, they are more likely to be taken care of by family members than are native Danes.

Another qualitative study (2007) carried out in Copenhagen finds that, although elderly individuals with an immigrant background are a very diverse group, they nonetheless share some problems in common.⁴¹⁹ The study finds, in particular, that many children of elderly immigrants are now working and this has led to changes in family patterns – from living in traditional extended families, to modern Western patterns where less time is available to take care of elderly family members. The elderly immigrants interviewed for the study were generally worried about their life situation and feared being lonely, due to their limited Danish language skills. Furthermore, they expressed a need for public services to be better adapted to their individual needs in relation to religion, culture, language, traditions and gender. The report recommends that initiatives be undertaken to prevent individuals from this group from becoming isolated. These could include, for example, offering day activities that are attractive for them or establishing sections for specific language groups at care homes for the elderly. Finally, it is recommended that the competencies of staff working in the social and healthcare sectors in intercultural communication be strengthened.

Psychological problems among migrant communities

The frequency of psychological problems is reported to be high among refugees from “non-Western” countries.⁴²⁰ This is partly explained by the fact that a large proportion of this population has fled wars or experienced torture.

One study analyses the psychosocial strains experienced by young people from minority communities, due to intergenerational differences with their parents, and their own identity struggle in a discriminatory environment.⁴²¹ Another study explores the trauma experienced by children and their parents from refugee families (including many Muslims), in cases where the municipal social authorities have taken children away from troubled families and placed them in the custody of a Danish family.⁴²²

The same author also explores the situation of the most vulnerable sections of the minority ethnic communities, including the elderly, who are most in need of social protection and care.⁴²³ This study finds that the elderly from ethnic minority

⁴¹⁹ H. Dupont and M. H. Fatum, *Forestillinger, ønsker og forventninger til ældreplejen blandt ældre med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund* (Perceptions, desires' and expectations' among elder with ethnic minority background), Folkesundhed København, Copenhagen Health and Care Administration (Sundheds- og Omsorgsforvaltningen Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2007.

⁴²⁰ Barfod and Persson, 2000.

⁴²¹ R. Singla, *Youth Relationships, Ethnicity & Psychosocial Intervention*, Books Plus, New Delhi, 2004.

⁴²² M. Skytte, *Anbringelse af etniske minoritetsbørn* (A replacement for social custody of minority ethnic children), PhD dissertation, University of Lund, Lund, 2002, (hereafter Skytte, 2002(b)).

⁴²³ Skytte, 2002(b).

communities of non-European background, as well as staff in the municipal social care system, maintain false assumptions that this group will be taken care of by their own families. The paper calls for additional research to be conducted on how best to develop social care systems for the elderly that pay attention to their particular social, cultural and communicative needs.

The reported experiences of women accessing the services of the Centre for Immigrant Women in Nørrebro are illustrative of the types of problems encountered by many migrant women in Denmark.⁴²⁴ This Centre provides a range of important services for women with a migrant background. Founded over 27 years ago, it is partly financed by the municipality and partly by private donations.

The Centre's largest clientele are first-generation immigrant women with very low literacy rates and skills to support themselves, who are living on the margins of society. The vast majority are from Turkey, Pakistan and Somalia. Some have refugee status, so are no longer entitled to receive normal welfare support.⁴²⁵

In addition to the services for regular visitors of the centre – who come to enjoy hobbies and other activities, and to meet and talk with like-minded women – the Centre also provides counselling for an average of 250 women per year, on a range of social problems. These include domestic violence, psychological problems, poverty and economic issues and problems with the social authorities (for those living on social welfare benefits), and advice about children.⁴²⁶

The Centre had experienced many clients who, by failing to regularly attend job-activation courses, had lost their entitlement to welfare benefits.⁴²⁷ There were also examples of some single mothers who could not pay their utility bills in time, and so had their electricity or gas connections cut off. In other cases, women have signed an agreement with mobile telephone companies without being able to read the text, and have later received huge bills that they were unable to pay.

⁴²⁴ Interview with Ms Margrethe Wivel, Administrative Head, Women's Centre for Immigrant Women, Nørrebro, in Copenhagen on 14 September 2009.

⁴²⁵ This is following the introduction of the "Start-help" bill in 2002 (see also Section 3.2 of this report on national policy on immigration and integration). This law has subsequently gone through various amendments. In its present form, as part of the Ministry of Employment's "Active Social Policy" (*Aktive socialpolitik*), it is inscribed in: Consolidated Act no. 1460, on the Law on Active Social Policy (*Lovbekendtgørelse af lov om aktiv socialpolitik*), of 12 December 2007. See Chapter 4. of this Law, in particular. Text available (in Danish) at: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=127214&exp=1> (accessed 1 November 2010).

⁴²⁶ Interview with Margrethe Wivel, Administrative Head, Immigrant Women's Centre, Nørrebro, in Copenhagen on 14 September 2009.

⁴²⁷ The tightened rules and legislation on employment and access to social benefits require all recipients of welfare allowances to regularly take part in "job-activation" courses at the municipal centres for activation. "Job-activation" refers to a range of activities that every client of working-age who is in receipt of social welfare must undertake with the social authorities of their municipality.

8.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen – policy on health and social protection

Health and social protection is one of the six “pillars” detailed in the Copenhagen City Council’s *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*. Here, the vision on health and social protection is, “To make Copenhagen one of Europe’s top major cities in terms of citizens’ health, irrespective of social status and ethnic background”.⁴²⁸

Concerning the general health situation of migrant communities in Copenhagen, and with reference to the sparse studies available, the integration policy notes:

A national study also shows that immigrants are treated significantly more often for cardiovascular diseases and diabetes, but not, for example, for cancer. This, combined with other national studies, strongly suggests that the health of certain immigrant groups is significantly poorer than that of ethnic Danish citizens in Copenhagen. Poorer health is often linked to poorer social conditions, due to shorter education, unemployment and lower incomes. Language and cultural barriers also play a role. For certain groups, there is a genetic disposition for certain illnesses, especially diabetes. Cardiovascular diseases and type 2 diabetes are illnesses that are highly affected by physical activity, nutrition and smoking. There is, therefore, an obvious potential for reducing the demand for treatment through prevention.

The study of Turkish citizens also suggests that immigrants’ self-assessment of their own health is poorer than ethnic Danes. This can have a major influence on how early in life people need care. At present, only about 1 in 20 citizens aged over 65 in Copenhagen is of a non-Western background, whereas the corresponding figure is more than 1 in 10 for the age group from 45–64 years.

Many elderly immigrants and refugees feel lonely and isolated in Denmark. This is especially the case for those who arrived in the country as adults and have, perhaps, not learned the language sufficiently well. In some immigrant families the traditional pattern of family life, where youngsters look after the elderly is weakened or has disappeared completely. When organising the Council’s home help and nursing home services, there is a need to pay special attention to the conditions for older citizens with an immigrant background.⁴²⁹

To eradicate these disparities between native Danes and minority ethnic groups the integration policy includes the following two goals:⁴³⁰

- To significantly improve immigrants’ behaviour in relation to their health, in terms of smoking, diet, exercise, reproductive health and dental health.

⁴²⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 39.

⁴²⁹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 39–40.

⁴³⁰ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 41.

- To promote immigrants' participation in social networks.

To attain these goals, the integration policy includes the following measures.⁴³¹

- The City of Copenhagen will make sure that the general preventive measures in the health sector match the linguistic and cultural diversity of the citizens of Copenhagen, and where the existing facilities offered do not sufficiently meet immigrants' needs, the Council will adapt.
- Introduction of preventive programmes targeting immigrants concerning smoking, diet, exercise, dental health, sexually transmitted diseases, abortion and contraceptive devices supported by local health centres.
- Faster treatment of traumatised refugees and improved qualifications among professionals and voluntary workers to deal with traumatised refugees.
- Improvement of senior immigrants' quality of life, for example facilitated by gathering senior citizens who share the same ethnic background in certain nursing homes.

Copenhagen – initiatives on health and social protection

The above-mentioned goals of the Copenhagen City Council's *Integration Policy (2007–2010)* have been supported by a number of projects and other initiatives initiated by the Council.⁴³² The following projects are some examples:

“Health in Your Language” Project (*Sundhed på dit sprog*)

This project has been initiated in Nørrebro District, as well as other districts in Copenhagen. It involves a group of ethnic minority “health informants”, who organise meetings where they provide information on relevant health issues, such as smoking, exercise, dental health and HIV and AIDS. The meetings are held in local venues such as language schools, community houses and immigrants associations. In 2009, some 8,000 people were reached by this project. In Nørrebro District alone, 13 meetings were planned in autumn 2010.⁴³³

⁴³¹ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, p. 41.

⁴³² For an overview of these projects and their outcomes, see the publication: City of Copenhagen, *Statusrapport 2008* (Status Report for 2008), Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen), City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Copenhagen, 2008.

⁴³³ On the project website, information is available in Arabic, Urdu, Farsi and Somali. Talks by the “health informants” can be booked for free by individuals, associations, companies and public institutions. City of Copenhagen website, webpage of the “Health in Your Language” (*Sundhed på dit Sprog*) Project. Available at: <http://www.spds.kk.sk> (accessed 25 October 2010),

“Young and Healthy Students” Project (*Ung og Sund i uddannelse*)

This major health promotion initiative will run from 2008–2011. It targets vulnerable young people attending three vocational colleges and three so-called “productions schools” – an alternative youth education track focusing on practical, vocational oriented skills, with the objective of preparing students for mainstream education programmes.⁴³⁴ The project uses a comprehensive approach focusing on everyday life at the schools, and on providing a strategy for developing a healthy and supportive learning environment that encourages more immigrant students to complete their education and develop healthy living habits.

The project includes the following elements:

- Initiatives focusing on the promotion of sports activities
- Structural changes, including the development of health policies at schools and colleges
- Professional development focusing on teachers competencies to include health in the curriculum⁴³⁵

The ongoing project activities are described in a newsletter and the project will later be evaluated. It has already been the subject of a Master’s thesis, which focused on the project’s impact at one of the three vocational colleges.⁴³⁶ A main conclusion was that health initiatives must be integrated into the school’s core activities to ensure impact.

In addition to the above-mentioned initiatives, a wide range of preventive health initiatives have been initiated that specifically target ethnic minority families with small children who do not attend a kindergarten or nursery.⁴³⁷

For example, at the World Culture Centre (*Verdenskulturcentret*) in Nørrebro District, which is run by the City of Copenhagen, various ethnic groups carry out cultural and

⁴³⁴ City of Copenhagen website, webpage “Ung og Sund I Uddannelse” (Young and Healthy Students). Available at: <http://www.folkesundhed.kk.dk/TilFagfolk/Ungdomsuddannelser/UngOgSundIUddannelse.aspx> (accessed 27 October 2010).

⁴³⁵ City of Copenhagen website, webpage “Ung og Sund I Uddannelse” (Young and Healthy Students). Available at: <http://www.folkesundhed.kk.dk/TilFagfolk/Ungdomsuddannelser/UngOgSundIUddannelse.aspx> (accessed 27 October 2010).

⁴³⁶ See an article summing up the conclusions of the Masters thesis from Roskilde University, available on the website of the Association of Vocational Colleges (Danske erhvervsskoler), “Skaber sundhedstiltag større fastholdelse? (Do health initiatives help reduce student drop-out?), 14 September 2010. Available at: <http://www.danskeerhvervsskoler.dk/aktuelt/artikler-og-analyser/artikel/skaber-sundhedstiltag-stoerre-fastholdelse/> (accessed 27 October 2010).

⁴³⁷ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Målrettet sundhedsindsats overfor familier fra etniske minoriteter” (Health initiatives targeting ethnic minority families). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Integrationsindsatser/AktiveIndsatser.aspx> (accessed 27 October 2010).

other local community activities.⁴³⁸ In relation to health and social protection the association *Shahrazad* makes a special effort to integrate mainly vulnerable Muslim women aged 40–65, though physical activities such as traditional dancing and gym exercises. Other activities include information on Danish society and opportunities for practising speaking Danish, and the exchange of experiences on an informal basis with other ethnic minority women. This group of women is seldom targeted by public programmes because they are not in a position to enter the job market. The courses offered by *Shahrazad* are always fully booked by women who have heard about the course from other women in Nørrebro.

Copenhagen – care of elderly minorities

A number of the projects and other initiatives initiated by the Copenhagen City Council in support of its integration policy have included elements aimed at the elderly.⁴³⁹ For example, some of the meetings of the “Health in Your Language” Project (*Sundhed på dit sprog* – see above) specifically target more elderly individuals from ethnic minorities.⁴⁴⁰ The results from one of the city’s integration projects, Services for the Elderly (*Tilbud til ældre*) have shown that this group has only limited knowledge of available public services.⁴⁴¹ As a result, information has now been made available in pamphlets and on the Copenhagen City Council website in Urdu, Turkish, Somali, Farsi and English.

Copenhagen’s Social and Health Care College (*Social og Sundhedsskolen i København*) provides education and training for many of the staff working in the city’s care centres for elderly people, in private homes and hospitals. According to the College, around 50 per cent of the students enrolled annually (total approximately 400–500) are currently ethnic minority students.⁴⁴² The College is pleased with this high enrolment rate. In particular, the influence of these students with different cultural backgrounds and

⁴³⁸ Website of the World Culture Centre (Verdenskulturcentret). Available at: <http://kubik.kk.dk/verdenskulturcentret/organisationer-i-huset/gymnastikforening-for-etniske-kvinder/> (accessed 27 October 2010).

⁴³⁹ Feedback for this section, including the associated recommendation, was obtained from Christine E. Swane, Director of Ensommes Ældres Værn (the Association for Lonely Elderly People) and from the Social and Health Care College, Copenhagen.

⁴⁴⁰ These are reached through day-based activities at residential homes or activities offered in the social housing areas where they live. Approximately 150 elderly individuals were enrolled in these activities in 2009. Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage “Indsatser i 2009 rettet mod ældre med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund” (Measures in 2009 targeting elder citizens with an ethnic minority background). Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Integration/Integrationsindsatser/AktiveIndsatser.aspx> (accessed 25 October 2010).

⁴⁴¹ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage for the “Services for the elderly” (*Tilbud til ældre*) Project, 2009. Available at <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/SundhedOgAeldre/-/media/776DE3A9EA71442D98D80AC81F800ABD.ashx> (accessed 30 October 2010).

⁴⁴² Phone call with the Development Department at Copenhagen’s Social and Health Care College (*Social og Sundhedsskolen i København*), on 28 October 2010.

experiences is thought to strengthen the professional identity at the school and thereby the quality of the education. However, a main challenge is to avoid student drop-out, especially among older ethnic minority students who may have language problems. Several initiatives have been taken by the College to support this group of students. These include mentoring, an extension of the introductory courses by 20 weeks to include a further focus on language and culture, and a new major project aimed specifically at preventing drop-out among bilingual students.⁴⁴³

Copenhagen – impact of the integration policy in relation to health and social protection

To monitor the impact of its integration policy, the Copenhagen County Council has introduced an annual survey where residents are asked to share their views on integration. The conclusions of the survey are used in an integration barometer (*Bydelsbarometer*), which indicates progress within the different social areas in relation to the objectives set out in the council's integration policy paper.⁴⁴⁴ Despite the initiatives outlined above, the annual surveys have not yet recorded any improvements in relation to health and social protection. A gap still exists between the average health conditions of native Danes and ethnic minorities, respectively.

Local politicians have concluded that the original objective, “to cancel out the differences between the health of native Danes and immigrants”, appears to have been too ambitious. Consequently, in the new *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*, this objective has been amended to “reducing the gap”. In this new policy document, the Copenhagen Health and Care Administration also proposes to strengthen the focus on social factors that influence health, and on the most vulnerable housing areas in the city.⁴⁴⁵

Taking into account recent research on the consequences of the government's policy of reducing social benefits for unemployed immigrant families, including many Muslim families (see Section A, above), this new focus on the impact of social factors on health does seem reasonable. However, there does also seem to be a basis for the Copenhagen County Council to challenge the national policy of providing reduced social benefits to refugees and immigrants, which is worsening the health conditions and social protection of especially vulnerable immigrant families. A first step in this direction would be to insist on *closing* (rather than just *reducing*) the health gap between native Danes and ethnic minorities, including Muslim families.

⁴⁴³ Website of Social and Health Care College, Copenhagen (Social og sundhedsskolen København), webpage of the “Nye Læringsfællesskaber” (New communities of learning) Project, which will run from 2009 to 2011. Available at: <http://www.sosukbh.dk/sw/frontend/show.asp?parent=265698&layout=0> (accessed 28 October 2010).

⁴⁴⁴ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage of the integration barometer (*Bydelsbarometer*) initiative. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/integrationsbarometer.aspx> (accessed 29 October 2010).

⁴⁴⁵ City of Copenhagen, *Draft Integration Policy (2011–2014)*, p. 16.

Regarding access to healthcare in Copenhagen, the main problem raised by participants in the Open Society Foundations focus group discussions (see Section 8.2 below) was access to adequate interpretation facilities at hospitals and clinics, for those not proficient in the Danish language (mainly more vulnerable, elderly immigrants). Research carried out previously in Nørrebro District had highlighted that positive communication and contact between minority families and the health system is important for the take-up of healthcare services.⁴⁴⁶ This study found that communication can be positively enhanced by measures such as sending a reminder to families for their children's periodic checks-up and timely vaccination.

The communication problems encountered by many migrants have already been officially recognised by the Copenhagen City Council, which is reportedly in the process of devising a comprehensive "communication strategy" for its non-Danish-speaking citizens.⁴⁴⁷ In addition, the focus group participants praised the recent initiative of the Copenhagen Municipality to recruit some bilingual health visitors and health community workers. On the website of the Copenhagen City Council, residents are informed that they can ask for a visit (free of charge) from a bilingual health visitor, who will provide advice on issues such as smoking, food/diet, exercise, family planning, diabetes and the consequences of a lack of Vitamin D.⁴⁴⁸

8.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

8.2.1 Access to healthcare

In the survey, respondents were asked to express their opinion on a range of municipal and social services. For health services in general, the majority of respondents (71 Muslims and 63 non-Muslims) were very or fairly satisfied with health services in Nørrebro (see Table 34 below).

⁴⁴⁶ L. Flachs and K. Meldgaard, *Tilslutning til børneundersøgelser og vaccinationer – et forsøg på at bedre tilslutningen* (An exercise for securing a better response (from minority parents) for medical check-ups and vaccinations of children), in *Månedsskrift for Praktisk Lægegerning* (Monthly Newsletter of Medical Practitioners), no. 77, pp. 249–256, Copenhagen, 1999.

⁴⁴⁷ Interview with Pernille Kjelgård, Head of the Integration Office, Copenhagen Municipality, in Copenhagen on 2nd September 2009.

⁴⁴⁸ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage with information on bilingual health visitors. Available at: <http://www.kk.dk/Borger/Sundhed/Sund%20livsstil/SundhedPaaDitSprog.aspx> (accessed 2 January 2011).

Table 34. Are you satisfied with the health services in Nørrebro?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Very satisfied	31	25	56
Fairly satisfied	40	38	78
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8	10	18
Fairly dissatisfied	8	6	14
Very dissatisfied	4	8	12
Don't know	8	12	20
No response	1	1	2
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Those Muslims who did express dissatisfaction with local health services (12 respondents) indicated that their main concern was a lack of interpretation facilities when visiting their doctor or hospital. Some provided anecdotal examples of parents using their children as interpreters.

Healthcare provision in Copenhagen Municipality was also discussed in the focus group sessions.⁴⁴⁹ In general, and despite worries about care for the elderly, participants expressed a positive overall impression of the access to healthcare for minorities, in all the sessions where these issues were discussed.

8.2.2 Health situation of minorities

The health situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark (see also Section 8.1 above) was also discussed in the focus group sessions.⁴⁵⁰ Here, lack of proficiency in the Danish language, and thus of exposure to the daily news media, was highlighted by many

⁴⁴⁹ Information provided, in particular, by participants from two Open Society Foundations focus groups: Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services) and Group E (men aged 45 and over), interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

⁴⁵⁰ Information provided, in particular, by participants from two focus groups: Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services) and Group E (men aged 45 and over), interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

participants as an important factor with regard to the generally unsatisfactory level of health awareness of ethnic minorities.⁴⁵¹

A notable feature of the focus group sessions was a good deal of self-criticism regarding the Muslim communities in Denmark, including for not doing enough to learn the Danish language and not following public health advice – such as maintaining a low-fat diet or exercising regularly.

Talking about why members of ethnic minorities were found to be more prone to diabetes and heart diseases, and whether this was linked to a lack of information, one focus group participant related the following:

There are so many good programmes about health, doctors give talks, but the majority of our people do not understand them. That is why the general information, disseminated by the Department of Health, does not reach our people. For example, about a year and half ago, there was a women's group in [...] which provided information about health, particularly sugar, and the women asked that if two persons were eating from the same plate and one had diabetes, would the other catch the disease? This shows the extent of lack of knowledge among our people. [...] There is a severe lack of knowledge and information.⁴⁵²

This participant acknowledged that the government had made some effort to provide information in immigrants' own languages, but felt that much more still needed to be done in this area.

Another participant highlighted that this was a particular problem for the older generations,

[...] our younger generation, obviously, they have gone to local schools, they have learned the local language and have some access to the media. The problem lies with those among our people who are older and are unable to learn a new language. [...] In our population, there are many who are now unable to learn the language. Their age and their daily routine are not suitable for this. Their problems are greater because health problems grow with age. [...] Not knowing the language is also form of disability.⁴⁵³

Participants from this focus group also noted as a positive development the Copenhagen Municipality's recruitment of some bilingual health visitors and health community workers.

⁴⁵¹ Participants were of the view that this also creates problems in many other areas of daily life. Examples cited included a lack of adequate information about the rules and regulations about retirement and pensions, schools and colleges, and the provision of social services.

⁴⁵² Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group B (males aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

⁴⁵³ Participant from Focus Group B (males aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

8.2.3 Respect of religious customs

The survey also included a question on the extent to which local health services respect different religious customs (see Table 35 below).

Table 35. To what extent do you think that the health services respect different religious customs?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Too much	12	2	14
About right	65	48	113
Too little	9	9	18
Don't know	14	40	54
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The majority of respondents (77 Muslims and 50 non-Muslims) felt that the respect accorded by hospitals to different religious customs was “about right” or “too much”.

A much higher number of non-Muslims (40 respondents) replied in the “don't know” category than did Muslims (14 respondents). This may be attributable to the generally higher rate of hospitalisation observed in migrant groups, than for the rest of the Danish population.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, non-Muslims included in this survey may lack specific or personal experience of their local hospital, making it is more difficult for them to formulate a clear-cut view.

The main general hospital in the area, Rigshospital – which is also the largest hospital in Copenhagen – has been working with Muslim religious leaders and restaurant owners to provide *halal* meals for Muslim patients. However, the focus group participants highlighted that patients have to pay for these meals, while other meal options are free of charge.⁴⁵⁵ The hospital also has an Imam available to provide support to patients and their families. In addition, a common prayer room for all faiths has now been established at the hospital, in the style of those now available at most European airports.

⁴⁵⁴ See, for example: Nielsen, 2002.

⁴⁵⁵ Information provided by participants from the following three Open Society Foundations focus groups: Group B: males aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services; Group D: women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city; and Group F: women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city.

According to information provided by the focus group participants, in the past few years Danish hospitals have suffered from an acute shortage of medical staff, which has led to a number of Muslim doctors now being employed.⁴⁵⁶ This has definitely helped to improve cross-cultural understanding in hospitals. Participants also highlighted that, for orthodox Muslim females, a female doctor can, in most cases, now be requested for a consultation.

Those who responded to the above survey question (see Table 35), were then asked to provide further explanations as the basis of their responses (see Table 36 below).

Table 36. Why do you think healthcare services respect different religious customs to the extent they do?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Medical staff are professionals and respect the customs of others	25	20	45
I never experienced discrimination	20	12	32
Own impression from single visit	12	9	21
There was no prayer room	11	5	16
A single bad experience	5	3	8
I am satisfied	4	2	6
There are equal opportunities for all	2	1	3
Does not apply to me	2	0	2
Impression from the media	0	2	2
Don't know	4	4	8
Total (number of responses)**	85	58	143

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Notes: *Sorted by total number of responses

**Only those respondents who answered the previous question (see Table 35 above) were asked this additional question. Some respondents gave more than one response to this question.

A majority of responses (45 from Muslims and 32 from non-Muslims) indicated either that medical staff respect the customs of others, or that the respondents had never experienced any discrimination in accessing healthcare.

⁴⁵⁶ Information provided by participants from three Open Society Foundations focus groups: Group B (males aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services); Group D (women aged 18-35, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city); and Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and on being citizens of the city).

Among Muslims, the main complaint (11 responses) concerned a lack of prayer-rooms in hospitals. (Although the local hospital, Rigshospital, does now have a common prayer room – see above). Levels of satisfaction with hospitals and medical staff were almost the same for male and female Muslim respondents.

8.2.4 Access to social protection

Survey respondents were generally satisfied with local social services. When asked to prioritise three areas of local services that they felt needed special attention (see Table 42, in Chapter 9), neither higher social assistance (including for people on social benefits and “Start-help”), nor help for socially vulnerable families, were selected as priorities by respondents.

The focus group participants were more critical of the quality of information provided by local social services. According to one participant.

I accompanied an elder person to help him get his pension. He wanted to obtain information about how he could receive his pension if he went to live in Pakistan. Instead of telling us about the rules and regulations, the official told us to go to the library, get the relevant books, and read them. The office has been set up to provide information about pensions, and guide the public, but this man told us to go to the library. I asked him to give us a printout from his computer but he refused.⁴⁵⁷

Another participant believed that this experience was indicative of a more general problem:

Often it is found, mostly by our students who conduct research here, that social welfare offices pose several problems and do not help. They do not see your education or background, but just your black skin colour, and tell you to go to the library and search for yourself among books [...].⁴⁵⁸

Another major concern among older focus group participants was care of the elderly, particularly given changing family structures and mixed expectations from children about taking care of their elderly parents. The following comments, from three different participants, are illustrative of the discussion:⁴⁵⁹

Because we are Muslims, is it the duty of the children to look after their old parents [...]

⁴⁵⁷ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

⁴⁵⁸ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

⁴⁵⁹ Participant from Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

We do hope that our children will look after us because that is the way we have brought them up.

I do not think our people will go and live in a home for the elderly. Even if they have to return to Pakistan, they would not live in a home for the elderly.

Some focus group participants expressed the view that there should be separate homes for elderly Muslims, so that their specific needs (such as *halal* food) could be better catered for. Others, however, thought this was unrealistic:

My daughter works in a home for the elderly. For the last two or three years, there has been a Pakistani couple living there; they have only one son who takes them out on weekends and is annoyed about it. They are happy that they [the Danes] have taken care of them, and other things, because if they go to their son's house, their daughter-in-law says she cannot look after them.⁴⁶⁰

[...] we might need them [homes for the elderly] in case our children cannot look after us. A mother could be ill while the son and daughter-in-law both have to work. They work seven hours and [the elderly] cannot stay alone at home for seven hours. Until now, we think that it is our children's responsibility [to look after us] but in this country, it is hard for the children also, because if the wife and husband do not both work, they cannot get by. If they are both at work, the elderly are alone, and you cannot rely on your daughters because once married they have to look after their own home. Therefore, this is an issue for our people. They should build separate homes for the elderly for our people. [...]⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶⁰ Participant from Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

⁴⁶¹ Participant from Focus Group F (women aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of Copenhagen).

9. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: POLICING AND SECURITY

9.1 Background

This section (9.1) draws on official data and information from available research sources in Denmark on policing and security issues regarding ethnic minorities. It is divided into two sub-sections: national research findings (9.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (9.1.2). The following section (9.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations surveys and focus groups.

9.1.1 National research findings

Police structure

Unlike many other EU countries, in Denmark there is only one police force – the national police force (*Rigspolitiet*) – that is responsible for maintaining law and order, and ensuring the safety and security of citizens. The police force is headed by a National Commissioner who reports directly to the Minister of Justice, the country's chief police authority.⁴⁶²

Following administrative reforms in 2007, there are now 12 police administrative regions (*kreds*) and 24 city court districts in Denmark.⁴⁶³ Each police administrative region is headed by a Commissioner, who reports directly to the National Commissioner.⁴⁶⁴ The ten districts of Copenhagen Municipality, including Nørrebro District, are under the administration of the Copenhagen police administrative region.

The main police headquarters in each police administrative region is open 24 hours a day. In addition, there are also local police stations that can only be accessed during the daytime opening hours.

There are currently no accountability structures at the city or municipal level in which concerned citizens can be involved in policing practice or policy. However, in each police administrative unit there is a formalised cooperation on crime prevention

⁴⁶² See, for example, the official website of the Danish police force, "Polti". Available (in Danish and English) at: <http://www.politi.dk/> (accessed 16 September 2010), (hereafter, *Danish police force website*).

⁴⁶³ See, for example: *Factsheet Denmark*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, April 2009, p. 10. Available on the "Welcome to Denmark" website at: <http://www.denmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/916BAEE6-AFB8-4720-B118-03366AB1154A/0/DenmarkOverview.pdf> (accessed 16 September 2010).

⁴⁶⁴ Apart from Copenhagen and the island of Bornholm, each police district serves a population of approximately 400,000 citizens. See: *Danish police force website*.

activities (*SSP-samarbejde*⁴⁶⁵), between the police, schools and municipal social authorities, as well as informal cooperation with citizens' associations.

Complaints against the police are investigated by one of the six public prosecutors responsible for such cases.

In addition to the 12 regular police administrative regions (*kreds*), there is also the Danish national intelligence agency, the Police Intelligence Service (*Politiets Efterretningstjeneste*, PET – see below).⁴⁶⁶ The PET works under the supervision of a parliamentary committee, but is administratively organised under the office of National Police Commissioner and, as such, directly answerable to the Ministry of Justice.⁴⁶⁷

The main objective of the PET is to counter and fight threats to national security and the safety of the population. Thus, in cooperation with other bodies, the PET is also responsible for counter-terrorism activities. The PET's Centre for Terror Analysis (CTA) has been operational since January 2007, and conducts analyses and assessments of threats of terrorism, and facilitates the prevention and investigation of acts of terrorism.⁴⁶⁸

The Danish border control police, at airports and harbours, are organised as special police units reporting administratively to the respective police administrative region. For example, the airport police at Copenhagen Airport are administratively under the Copenhagen police administrative region.

Research on ethnic minorities and the police and criminal justice system

In Denmark, available research literature on issues relating to the police and ethnic minorities is sparse and sporadic. There are only two research projects and one police

⁴⁶⁵ "SSP-cooperation" (*SSP-samarbejde*) is a formalised cooperation, at the municipality level, between the police, schools and social authorities, which aims to monitor and prevent crime and deviancy among school pupils.

⁴⁶⁶ The National Police Commissioner can also establish a special Task Force to investigate or curb specific types of crime, such as organised crime or gang-related crime, which may involve assistance from the PET. See, for example, further information on the PET website, available (in Danish) at: <http://www.pet.dk/Arbejdsområder/Organiseret%20kriminalitet.aspx> (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁴⁶⁷ For further details, see the PET website, available (in Danish and English) at: <http://www.pet.dk/English.aspx> (accessed 6 November 2010), (hereafter *PET website*).

⁴⁶⁸ See: *PET website*.

training project (see below) that can be drawn on to gain an overview.⁴⁶⁹ Similarly, research analyses of the “cartoons controversy” (the publication, in 2005, of the defaming cartoons of the prophet of Islam in the country’s largest newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*) have focused more on media and political issues, rather than aspects relating to policing.

There is also no rigorous research in Denmark on the treatment of ethnic minorities, or of Muslims more specifically, in the criminal justice system, and this area is beyond the scope of this report. However, the archives of the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DACoRD) do provide a record on a range of individual court cases as well as police prosecution processes. In particular, some case studies highlighted by DACoRD provide an insight into the performance of the courts and police prosecution in cases where ethnic minorities have been the victims of crime and racial discrimination.⁴⁷⁰ These indicate that complaints of racial and ethnic discrimination filed by members of ethnic minority groups are not always taken seriously by the police authorities.

Research is also lacking on attitudes towards the police on the part of ethnic minorities in Denmark. In one national survey (1999), the regular police came second only to trade unions as the institutions for which Muslims reported the lowest levels of discrimination.⁴⁷¹ However, the picture was different for the border control police, with over one third of Turkish immigrants reporting experiences of discrimination. No more recent survey is currently available.

Nonetheless, it is clear that, today, negative attitudes towards the police persist on the part of some ethnic minorities in Denmark, and in particular among young people

⁴⁶⁹ See: L. Holmberg, *Inden for lovens rammer – politiets arbejdsmetoder og konkrete skøn* (Within the limits of the law – the working methods of the police and concrete judgments), Gyldendal Publishers, (based on a PhD dissertation at Copenhagen University), Copenhagen, 1999, (hereafter Holmberg, 1999). Also: A. Ansel-Henry and S. B. Jespersen, *Konflikt på gadeplan – når etnisk minoritetsungdom og politiet mødes* (Conflict on the street level – encounters between the police and the ethnic minority youth), Centre for Youth Research, Roskilde University Centre (RUC), Roskilde, 2003, (hereafter Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003); and M. Hussain and J-M. Monnier “Politiet – Statens discrimination” (Police discrimination by the state), in C. Fenger-Grøn, K. Qureshi and T. Seidenfaden, *Når du strammer garnet, kvæler du jo barnet* (When you tighten the yarn, you strangle the child), Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 2003, (hereafter Hussain and Monnier, 2003).

⁴⁷⁰ See the reports of the National Focal Point for Denmark to the EU’s Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), produced by the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD). These are available (in Danish) on the DACoRD website at <http://www.drcenter.dk/> (accessed 1 September 2010).

⁴⁷¹ The survey explored perceived experience of discrimination during encounters with various state officials and in public places. The survey was based on random sampling and involved individuals coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Lebanon, Somalia and Turkey. See: Møller and Togeby, 1999.

from these communities.⁴⁷² This is perhaps one of the reasons why, despite the efforts made by the police, relatively few individuals from ethnic minorities have sought a career in the profession (see below).

Police training initiatives

The limited research evidence available in Denmark indicates that prejudiced views against ethnic minorities do persist among working police officers.⁴⁷³ However, this research also suggests that the views held by police officers about Muslims are not very different from those held by the general Danish population or individuals from other government agencies.⁴⁷⁴

The Copenhagen Police College, which trains all police officers in Denmark, has been active in developing police training courses on how to be an effective professional in diverse multicultural societies. In 1997–1999, a training module on Policing in a Multicultural Society was developed as a cooperative project between the DACoRD and the Copenhagen Police, as part of the EU-funded European Project, NGOs and the Police Against Prejudice (NAPAP).

In the first phase of the Danish NAPAP Project, interviews were conducted with a number of representatives from minority associations and the police, to ascertain typical relations between the two groups, and areas of potential conflict and misunderstanding. Subsequently, a training module was developed for serving police officers in the Copenhagen Police. This included lectures on subjects such as international conventions on human rights, intercultural communication, the cultural and religious backgrounds of ethnic minorities, and the everyday experiences of young people from ethnic minorities, including with regards to discrimination in Danish public life and institutions.⁴⁷⁵ Each training session lasted three days and included up to 15 police officers. In total, 158 police officers (with an average of 8-9 years experience) took part in the training programme in 1998.

One of the most important messages of the Danish NAPAP training course was that all human beings can have prejudices about other people, groups or nations and that these can be difficult to overcome. However, such prejudices are much more problematic for police officers responsible for professional policing in a multiethnic society, as they are perceived by the public as not merely individuals performing their duties, but also as representatives of the state.

⁴⁷² See, for example: Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003. See also the Open Society Foundation focus group findings in Section 9.2 below.

⁴⁷³ See: Holmberg, 1999; and Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003. Also: Hussain and Monnier, 2003.

⁴⁷⁴ Hussain and Monnier, 2003.

⁴⁷⁵ John Wrench and Lulu Hjarnø, *Evaluation Report – Copenhagen Police Training Project*, Danish Centre for Migration and Ethnic Studies (DAMES), University of Southern Denmark (SDU), Esbjerg, 2000, (hereafter Wrench and Hjarnø, 2000).

The responses of the police officers who attended these training sessions suggest that the prejudice against Muslims shown by some participants was based mainly on their negative experiences in dealing with individual criminals who were Muslim, as well as media influenced and socially shared stereotypes about Muslims.⁴⁷⁶

Two of the main conclusions from the Danish NAPAP Project evaluation (2000) were an urgent need for training on aspects of minority policing for middle-ranked officers, as well as new recruits, and also for more emphasis in the curricula of the Copenhagen Police College on the multiethnic nature of Danish society.⁴⁷⁷ This latter recommendation was subsequently acted on by the college, which now includes a permanent module on inter-cultural communication and cultural diversity in its curricula.

Another research study (2003) looked more critically at the methodology implicit in the Danish NAPAP Project, questioning in particular whether the didactic method of raising awareness about ethnic prejudice among serving police officers through such training courses can, by itself, eradicate socially embedded stereotypes. The study finds instead that change in attitudes towards ethnic minorities takes time and requires reform at the institutional level.⁴⁷⁸

There have been no subsequent training sessions dedicated specifically to countering prejudice since the Danish NAPAP Project ended.

Police recruitment initiatives

The Copenhagen Police College has for some years campaigned for increased recruitment of trainee police officers from ethnic minority communities. Special advertisements were placed in the press from the late 1990s on, and the College's website still encourages young men and women from ethnic minority communities to join police.⁴⁷⁹

However, there are no official statistics on the numbers of individuals from the minority communities who actually attend the Police College or serve in the police force, as the Danish law on registration and databases prohibits the registration of citizens according to ethnic or religious identities.⁴⁸⁰ However, the below estimates (see Tables 37 and 38), prepared and made available by the recruiting office of the Copenhagen Police College, provide an indicator of trends since 2001.

⁴⁷⁶ Notes taken by the author of this report, Mustafa Hussain (lecturer at Roskilde University), during a NAPAP police training session held in 1998 at the World Cultural Centre in Nørrebro. See also: Hussain and Monnier, 2003

⁴⁷⁷ Wrench and Hjarnø, 2000.

⁴⁷⁸ N. Lassen and L. Tranekjær, *Changing attitudes – Confronting and conforming attitude-training practices*, MA dissertation, Roskilde University Centre (RUC), Roskilde, 2003.

⁴⁷⁹ For further details, see the website of the Police College (in Danish) at: <http://www.politiskolen.dk> (accessed 11 October 2010).

⁴⁸⁰ Law no. 429 on Personal Data (*Persondataloven*) of 13 May 2000.

Table 37. Number and proportion of applicants to the Copenhagen Police College coming from ethnic minority communities of “non-Western” origin (2001–2010)

Indicator	Number and proportion of applicants – by year									
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
(1) Total no. applicants	1,896	1,745	1,940	2,363	1,689	1,367	1,169	1,477	2,479	1,115*
(2) No. applicants from ethnic minority communities of “non-Western” origin	113	134	129	131	114	102	79	111	164	68
(2) as a proportion of (1) (%)	6.0	7.7	6.6	5.5	6.7	7.5	6.8	7.5	6.6	6.1

Source: Email and telephone correspondence with the recruiting office of Copenhagen Police College (October 2010).

Note: *Figures are as of 31 August 2010.

As shown above, from 2001–2010 an average of 6.7 per cent of applicants to the Copenhagen Police College came from ethnic minorities of non-Western origin. However, these figures do not indicate how many of these applicants were successful and passed the compulsory admission tests.

Table 38. Number and proportion of newly employed police officers coming from ethnic minorities of “non-Western” origin (2001–2010)

Indicator	Number and proportion of newly employed police officers – by year									
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
(1) Total no. newly employed police officers	288	272	384	412	428	462	352	416	400	556
(2) No. newly employed police officers ethnic minority communities of “non-Western” origin	14	7	10	10	14	19	14	10	20	19
(2) as a proportion of (1) (%)	4.9	2.6	2.6	2.4	3.3	4.1	4.0	2.4	5.0	3.4

Source: Email and telephone correspondence with the recruiting office of Copenhagen Police College (October 2010).

As shown above, from 2001–2010 an average of 3.5 per cent of newly employed police officers came from ethnic minorities of “non-Western” origin. By comparison, in January 2009 some 6.4 per cent of Denmark’s total population (including both Danish citizens and foreign nationals) were immigrants and their descendents from “non-Western” countries.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ Danmark Statistik, *Statistical Yearbook 2009*, Table 9 and Table 18 (source: KRBEF3 database). For further details, see also Section 2.1 of this report on population statistics.

Ethnic profiling and stop-and searches

A number of recent reports by international human rights organisations have focused on police ethnic profiling and stop-and-search policy and practices in European Union (EU) countries.⁴⁸² In its 2010 report, the EU's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) notes that profiling in the context of law enforcement, including the exercise of counter-terrorism powers, can occur,

[...] whenever an officer is in a position to exercise power, in that the decision to target particular individuals with that power can be influenced by considerations of race, ethnicity or religion. Such powers can include: identity checks; stops and searches of pedestrians and vehicles; mass stop and search; dispersal of groups; the issuing of cautions, arrests or detentions; raids; surveillance operations; data-mining; anti-radicalisation policies.⁴⁸³

The report goes on to distinguish between “discriminatory ethnic profiling” and other types of police profiling,

Discriminatory ethnic profiling involves:

- treating an individual less favourably than others who are in a similar situation (in other words ‘discriminating’), for example, by exercising police powers such as stop and search;
- where a decision to exercise police powers is based only or mainly on that person’s race, ethnicity or religion.⁴⁸⁴

In Denmark, police register the personal identity card number of any individual on whom a stop-and search is conducted and official statistics are maintained on the total number of such police stops. However, as data is not collected on the ethnic background of the individuals concerned, it is not possible to determine if certain

⁴⁸² See, for example: ENAR, *Fact Sheet on Ethnic Profiling*, European Network Against Racism (ENAR), Brussels, June 2009. Available at: <http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/pdf/FS40%20-%20ethnic%20profiling.pdf> (accessed 31 August 2010). Also: Open Society Justice Initiative, *Justice Initiatives: Ethnic Profiling by Police in Europe*, Open Society Institute (OSI), Budapest, 2005. Available at: http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/focus/equality_citizenship/articles_publications/publications/juticeinit_20050610 (accessed 31 August 2010). Also: ECRI, *General Policy Recommendation No. 11 on Combatting Racism and Racial Discrimination in Policing*, adopted on 29 June 2007, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), Strasbourg. Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/gpr/en/recommendation_n11/e-RPG%2011%20-%20A4.pdf, (accessed 31 August 2010).

⁴⁸³ FRA, *Towards more effective policing. Understanding and preventing discriminatory ethnic profiling – A guide*, European Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2010, (hereafter FRA, 2010 report), p. 11. Available at: http://www.fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Guide_ethnic_profiling.pdf (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁴⁸⁴ FRA, 2010 report, p. 15.

ethnic minorities, such as young Muslim men, are disproportionately targeted by such measures. There are no known awareness-raising courses or programmes on ethnic profiling offered to police officers in Denmark.

Two academic research projects in Denmark (1999 and 20003) have suggested that tensions between the police and members of ethnic minorities, and particularly young people from visible minorities, are partly a result of police ethnic profiling methods.⁴⁸⁵ This research also finds that an excessive focus on profiling young people from visible minorities is, in itself, contributing to deviant behaviour among the profiled target group. One of the studies (2003) highlights that police stop-and-searches result in verbal clashes and resistance by the young people targeted, which in turn leads to an increase in the crime statistics for this group when they are charged for resisting the police.⁴⁸⁶

More recently, police ethnic profiling practices used in the search for drugs and weapons, which resulted in claims of a disproportionate use of police stop-and-searches on young men from ethnic minorities, have sparked violent confrontations between the police and the profiled young people. In February 2008, this culminated in a series of riots in Nørrebro (see Section B below).

It is acknowledged that social exclusion and marginalisation are at the root of many of these tensions between young men and the police, but that there is also a need for the police to become more professional in their approach, and for an increased focus on the structural problems in society rather than on ethnic issues,

it is first and foremost the job of politicians to devise policies that would eliminate [...] economic and social marginalisation, not of the police to solve social problems.⁴⁸⁷

Action against hate crimes

The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) provides the following definition of a hate crime:

- a) Any criminal offence, including offences against persons or property, where the victim, premises, or target of the offence are selected because of their real or perceived connection, attachment, affiliation, support, or membership of a group as defined in Part B.

⁴⁸⁵ See: Holmberg, 1999; and Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003.

⁴⁸⁶ Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003.

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with Eric Tinor-Centi, current director of the private consultancy firm TLS-Consult, and former director and ofounder of the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), in Copenhagen, on 24 October 2008.

- b) A group may be based upon a characteristic common to its members, such as real or perceived race, national or ethnic origin, language, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation, or other similar factor.⁴⁸⁸

In Denmark, police regulations require that all police stations report hate crimes to the PET.⁴⁸⁹ However, in the past it is clear that there has been a lack of systematic reporting and recording of such crimes by the police and the criminal justice system.

In its 2006 annual report, the PET acknowledged that racially motivated violence had increased in the past years, but that this increase had not appeared in crime statistics because victims did not believe it worthwhile to report such incidents at their local police station.⁴⁹⁰

This tendency is also supported by the case studies highlighted by the DACoRD. These indicate that complaints of racial and ethnic discrimination filed by members of ethnic minority groups are not always taken seriously by the police authorities.⁴⁹¹

The PET subsequently announced its intention to start a campaign among minority ethnic communities to encourage them to report such violence and discrimination to the police. In recent years, the PET has held various meetings in different cities with Muslim prayer leaders and imams, as well as other representatives of minority communities.

There are indications that this approach has been successful in increasing the reporting of hate crimes. The latest figures released by the PET reveal that the number of criminal offences that can be related to hate crime of all kinds that were received from all police districts, showed a five-fold increase between 2007 and 2008 (from 35 to 175 cases).⁴⁹²

As another measure to address the under-reporting of hate crimes, in 2008 the Copenhagen City Council established a special website for victims of discrimination and hate crimes (see Section B below).

⁴⁸⁸ ENAR, *Racist violence and support to victims*, European Network Against Racism (ENAR), Brussels, December 2009, p. 4. Available at <http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/FS42%20-%20racist%20violence%20and%20support%20to%20victims%20EN.pdf> (accessed 11th November 2010).

⁴⁸⁹ PET, *Annual Report 2006*.

⁴⁹⁰ PET, *Annual Report 2006*.

⁴⁹¹ See the reports of the National Focal Point for Denmark to the EU's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), produced by the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD). These are available (in Danish) on the DACoRD website at <http://www.drcenter.dk/> (accessed 1 September 2010).

⁴⁹² See the PET website, webpage "Kriminelle forhold i 2008 med mulig racistisk eller religiøs baggrund" (Criminal incidents in 2008 with a possible racist or religious background). Available at: <http://www.pet.dk/Nyheder/raci2008.aspx> (accessed 11 November 2010).

The success of this website later prompted the Ministry of Justice, in 2009, to publicly direct all police stations to register and follow up on all hate crimes motivated by the ethnic or religious identity, or sexual orientation of the victims, and to emulate the Swedish system of record-keeping on hate crimes and racially motivated violence.⁴⁹³ Subsequently, in June 2009 the police launched a campaign on their own website urging victims of all kinds of hate crime to report such incidents to the police.⁴⁹⁴

The Danish Institute of Human Rights (DIHR) initiated a research project in 2009 to assess the incidence and extent of hate crimes at the national level.⁴⁹⁵ This research is still ongoing and no findings are yet available.

However, the results for Denmark from an EU-wide survey carried out in 2009 by the FRA indicate that, in general, minority ethnic communities continue to be poorly informed about potential avenues for addressing complaints of discrimination. The survey found that 82 per cent of respondents of Turkish origin and 80 per cent of respondents of Somali origin did not know of any organisation offering support and advice to people who have been discriminated against.⁴⁹⁶

Counter-terrorism and the role of the PET

In contrast to the more mixed attitudes towards the regular police force, the PET's image among Muslims appears to be excellent. According to the representatives of different immigrant organisations interviewed for this report, the organisation is well-trusted.⁴⁹⁷ In Copenhagen, the PET holds frequent meeting with representatives of the Muslim communities and prayer leaders or imams, with the aim to reduce the potential threat of terrorist activities among the ranks of disillusioned Muslims, and especially young people.⁴⁹⁸

An Open Society Justice Initiative (2009) report observes the following:

Counterterrorism operations conducted in the community, such as raids and arrests, provoke high levels of anxiety and a sense of being targeted. One way to alleviate these tensions is to ensure that community leaders quickly receive reliable information about the operation. In Denmark, police have sent officers to community leaders' houses even while terrorism suspects were being arrested,

⁴⁹³ Article in the national daily newspaper, *Politiken*, on 28th March 2009.

⁴⁹⁴ See the website of the Danish Police at <http://www.politi.dk> (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁴⁹⁵ DIHR, *Hadforbrydelse i Danmark – Lovgivning, praksis og menneskeret*, (Hate Crime in Denmark – The law, practice and human rights), Inquiry Report no. 9, Danish Institute of Human Rights (DIHR), Copenhagen. Work in progress.

⁴⁹⁶ EU-MIDIS, *2009 Report*, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁷ Open Society Foundations interview carried out in Frederiksberg on 16 September 2009 with Bashy Quraishy, Chairman of ENAR-DK (the European Network Against Racism, Denmark), who has frequent contacts with minority organisations.

⁴⁹⁸ Open Society Foundations interview carried out in Nørrebro on 14 September 2009, with Imam Abdul Wahid Peterson, Imam and Spokesperson for the Federation of Muslims.

to tell those leaders what was transpiring and enable them to relay that information to the community, to prevent the spread of inaccurate or misleading information.⁴⁹⁹

In June 2002, the Danish Parliament passed a package of laws (called L35⁵⁰⁰) aimed at combating the growing threat of international terrorism. These laws gave the PET greater powers of surveillance (for telephone tapping and monitoring of emails) of a suspect, with prior permission from a magistrate. They also provided increased resources for the police to use secret informants. The laws also required telecommunication companies and the providers of Internet services to keep a record of all the communication flows on mobile telephones and Internet traffic. There was a further amendment to the L35 package of laws in 2006.⁵⁰¹

Since the new anti-terror legislation came into force in 2002, a number of individuals have been registered for surveillance, arrested, or sentenced under this anti-terror legislation. Not all those charged, however, are Muslims.⁵⁰² No detailed study or research on these cases is currently available. Similarly, there has been no study as yet on the impact of the new legislation on members of Muslim communities in Denmark.

Initiatives on monitoring radicalisation

Partly in response to the high-profile arrests of Muslims on terrorism charges (see above), the Danish government has supported a number of initiatives aimed at monitoring radicalisation trends among young Muslims, which go beyond the preemptive surveillance already carried out by the PET.

In 2008, the former Mayor of Integration and Employment at the Copenhagen City Council, Jacob Hougaard, had justified the development of one such anti-

⁴⁹⁹ Open Society Justice Initiative, *Ethnic Profiling in the European Union: Pervasive, Ineffective, and Discriminatory*, Open Society Justice Initiative, Budapest, 2009, pp. 123–124, (hereafter Open Society Justice Initiative, *Ethnic Profiling in the EU*). Available at: http://www.chrgi.org/projects/docs/profiling_20090526.pdf (accessed 31 August 2010).

⁵⁰⁰ Law no. 378 on changes to the laws on the penal code and the administration of justice act etc., (*Lov om ændringer af straffeloven, retsplejeloven mm.*) of 6 June 2002. This was a package covering 35 different laws.

⁵⁰¹ Law no. 542 on changes to the law on the administration of justice (*Lov om ændring i retsplejeloven*), of 8 June 2006. Further details available on the PET website (in Danish) at: <http://www.pet.dk/Arbejdsomraader/Lovgrundlaget/Terrorpakken.aspx> (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁵⁰² For the most recent overview of all such cases see the website of the national daily newspaper, *Politiken*. Available (in Danish) at: http://i.pol.dk/indland/fakta_indland/article1057857.ece (accessed 18 October 2010).

radicalisation initiative in Copenhagen by referring to the 2007 arrests of two young men in the city, who were later sentenced for bomb-making activities.⁵⁰³

The terror threat is serious enough, and accordingly it is our duty to do something. [...] We have to reach those youth who exhibit worrisome behaviour, before they can find out how to make a bomb.⁵⁰⁴

In June 2009, the Copenhagen City Council launched a two-year pilot programme, “Knowledge *Inclusion *Copenhagen” (VINK) aimed at monitoring radicalisation trends among, and safeguarding against radicalisation of, young Muslims. The initiative also includes general precautionary measures against political extremism among all young people living in Copenhagen.

The programme is voluntary and targeted at all City Council staff who come into contact with young people aged 14-20. It offers access to “a number of services, including knowledge and tools for the early prevention of radicalisation, as well as methods for the inclusion of young people, plus the opportunity for networking and exchanging knowledge with other employees of the municipality”.⁵⁰⁵ Also, “advice and tools if you are worried about a young person or would merely like to know more about radicalisation”.

According to an Open Society Foundations interview, the programme has attracted interest from a good number of the municipal employees, and has already secured grants for another period of four years (to 2014).⁵⁰⁶

9.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen: Policy on policing and community liaison

Security is one of the six main pillars laid out in the Copenhagen City Council’s current policy on integration (hereafter, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*).⁵⁰⁷ Here, the City Council elaborates its policy aims for crime prevention and safety in the following main focus areas:

⁵⁰³ The two young men (one Afghan citizen and one Danish citizen of Pakistani origin) were convicted in September 2007 for possession of explosive material that could be used in bomb-making. They were subsequently sentenced by the High Court to long prison terms under antiterror legislation, on 26 June 2009. For further details (in Danish), see: <http://www.domstol.dk/om/Nyheder/oevrigenyheder/pages/DomiGlasvejssagen26062009.aspx> (accessed 18 October 2010).

⁵⁰⁴ Quote in a news article in the national newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*, on 3 September 2008.

⁵⁰⁵ Website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage of the “Knowledge *Inclusion *Copenhagen (VINK)” Project. Available (in Danish and English) at: <http://www.kk.dk/vink> (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁵⁰⁶ Open Society Foundations telephone conversation with Anna Holm, “Knowledge *Inclusion *Copenhagen (VINK)” Project Assistant, on 18 October 2010.

⁵⁰⁷ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*.

- greater responsibility for the individual and the parents
- preventative work in schools and after-school clubs
- voluntary initiatives
- combating discrimination⁵⁰⁸

To address the problem of a lack of reporting of hate crimes (see Section A above), as well as, more generally, cases of discrimination, in 2008 the Copenhagen City Council established a special website, “Register discrimination”, where victims could register such incidents.⁵⁰⁹ The web pages are available translated into seven other languages, in addition to Danish. It should be noted, however, that this website aims only to provide an assessment of the frequency of hate crimes, and cannot be used to initiate a legal investigation. For this, people would need to report the incident at a police station.

By March 2009 the website had registered 209 complaints of discrimination, including hate crimes.⁵¹⁰ However, this almost certainly did not represent the true extent of the problem, given that knowledge of the website was still limited at this time. The City Council has subsequently distributed flyers in the city to attract attention to the site.

Following the riots in Nørrebro in 2008 (see below) there are signs of positive developments in policing strategy in this area.

The Office of the Commissioner of the Copenhagen Police has, already for some time, frequently circulated internal instructions to all the police districts under its jurisdiction, on how to behave in ethnic minority communities and how to operate in the true spirit of established police professional standards.⁵¹¹ However, it is unclear to what extent these guidelines are adhered to by police officers in practice.⁵¹²

In light of the riots in Nørrebro, the Copenhagen police subsequently announced plans to revitalise “community policing” in the area. This would emphasise increased

⁵⁰⁸ City of Copenhagen, *Integration Policy (2007–2010)*, pp. 33–34.

⁵⁰⁹ The website, “Register Discrimination”, covers discrimination based on age, gender, race/skin colour/ethnic origin, disability, national/social origin, religion/beliefs, political views, and sexual orientation. The site is available (in English and Danish) at: <http://www.registrerdiskrimination.kk.dk> (accessed 11 November 2010).

⁵¹⁰ Article in the national daily newspaper, *Politiken*, on 28 March 2009.

⁵¹¹ Regular internal instructions circulated (in Danish) by the Office of the Director of the Copenhagen Police, “Police Director’s Orientation for the Copenhagen Police in relation to Ethnic Minorities”.

⁵¹² During the NAPAP police training project for the Copenhagen Police, it emerged that few officers were aware of the regular internal instructions circulated (in Danish) by the Office of the Director of the Copenhagen Police (“Police Director’s Orientation for the Copenhagen Police in relation to Ethnic Minorities”). Source: notes taken by the author of this report, Mustafa Hussain (lecturer at Roskilde University), who was present in all the training sessions as the coordinator of training courses.

consultation with local residents, and enhanced cooperation with local NGOs and volunteers.

The Copenhagen City Council, in cooperation with the Copenhagen Police and the *SSP-samarbejde*,⁵¹³ has already initiated a number of measures aimed at keeping young men off the streets. This includes providing municipal club houses, where they can spend their free time more productively. A number of “street assistants” (*medarbejdere på gadeplan*) from civil society or organisations representing ethnic minorities have also been engaged, to help prevent crime and deviancy in the local neighbourhoods.⁵¹⁴ In addition, the police have stopped their patrols in heavy vehicles, which they used to carry out both during and immediately after the riots.⁵¹⁵

There has been no further unrest in Nørrebro since 2008, although some young men from ethnic minorities in the area are still resentful of police stop and search practices.⁵¹⁶

The Nørrebro riots in 2008

With respect to issues of policing and security, 2008 was one of the most difficult periods for Nørrebro District, with a sudden outburst of rioting that was the first of its kind and magnitude in any Danish city.⁵¹⁷

There had previously been some indications of tensions simmering in the area, among young people from ethnic minorities specifically. Throughout the 1990s, the national news media had reported on the occasional clashes between the police and these young people – mainly Muslims from families who had arrived as refugees from the Middle East. In many of these cases, there were complaints by the young people concerned that the police were using excessive and aggressive stop-and-search practices when seeking to identify and arrest petty criminals.⁵¹⁸ Already in 1997, there were a number of recurrent clashes between the police and young people from ethnic minorities around the Blaagaard Square area, but these incidents remained confined to this area and did not spread further or result in widespread damage to private property.

⁵¹³ The *SSP-samarbejde* (SSP-cooperation) is a formalised cooperation, at the municipality level, between the police, schools and social authorities, which aims to monitor and prevent crime and deviancy among school pupils.

⁵¹⁴ Telephone conversation with the local police in Copenhagen on 12 October 2010.

⁵¹⁵ Telephone conversation with the local police in Nørrebro on 5 October 2010.

⁵¹⁶ Feedback from focus groups and interviews. The Open Society Justice Initiative is currently working on an interviews-based report on policing and profiling in Nørrebro that will provide further information on the current situation.

⁵¹⁷ For further details on Nørrebro, see Section 1.2 of this report.

⁵¹⁸ See: Niels Rohleder, *Drengene på Blågård's Plads – om medier og minoriteter* (Boys from the Blaagaards Square – on media and minorities), Information Forlag, Copenhagen, 1997, (hereafter Rohleder, 1997). Also: Lulu Hjarnø, *Rødderne' fra Blågård's Plads* (The 'lads' from Blaagaard Square), South Jotland University Publishers, Esbjerg, 1998, (hereafter Hjarnø, 2008).

A research paper published at this time (1997) highlights how the mass media exploited these incidents, and how this in turn resulted in a further escalation of the problem.⁵¹⁹ Another study of the situation (1998) analyses the position of some of these alienated and socially excluded young people as “outsiders”, through sociological theory and explanations.⁵²⁰

In 2008, claims of police harassment from young people from visible ethnic minorities centred on the over-use of police powers to stop-and-search any one suspected of carrying a weapon, including a pocket knife. Young people from ethnic minorities, predominantly Muslims, complained that the police were using ethnic profiling disproportionately. It should be noted that, in Denmark, there are no official statistics on the number of stop-and-searches, disaggregated by ethnicity (see above).

In February 2008, this simmering frustration resulted in a sudden outburst of rioting in Nørrebro. On the night of 9-10 February, a group of about 30-40 young men set alight a number of cars and dustbins in the streets of Nørrebro, and subsequently clashed with police, who used tear gas on the crowd. In the course of the night, 11 young men were arrested – of whom 10 were held without charge, but later sent to custody under preventive measures.⁵²¹

On 16 February 2008, the spokesperson of the Islamic Religious Society (*Islamisk Trosamfund*) in Nørrebro, Kasem Ahmad, highlighted the general discrimination experienced by young people from ethnic minorities as the root cause of these riots:

There is a poisonous climate against Muslims in society. This has led the youth to episodes of arson.⁵²²

On 18 February 2008, after some days of the rioting, a group of young men from Nørrebro District published an article in the national newspaper, *Politiken*, headed, “Declaration: the truth behind the riots”.⁵²³ Here, they expressed their frustration with frequent police stop-and-searches, and blamed the police for being “brutal”, “racists”, and exercising “utterly unacceptable intimidation”. They also alleged that the police had obliged some young men to undress in public while police officers trained their

⁵¹⁹ Rohleder, 1997.

⁵²⁰ Hjarnø, 2008.

⁵²¹ Article on Danmarks Radio (DR) website, “Unge på Nørrebro vil stoppe ballade” (The youth in Nørrebro will stop the riots), 19 February 2008. Available at: <http://www.dr.dk/nyheder/Indland/kriminalitet/2008/02/19/050240.htm?rss=true> (accessed 11 November 2010), (hereafter *DR website article*).

⁵²² Short quotation in the article, “Experter afviser at optøjer handler om discrimination” (Experts deny that the riots are due to discrimination), in the daily newspaper *Jyllands-posten* on 16 February 2008.

⁵²³ Article, “Erklæring: Sandheden bag urolighederne” (Declaration: the truth behind the riots), published under the pseudonym “Boys from Inner Nørrebro”, in the daily newspaper *Politiken* on 18 February 2008 (hereafter, *Politiken Declaration*).

torch lights on them, that they had talked to some young men abusively, and that one police officer had carried out stop-and-searches several times in one day on the same people. The authors also claimed that such treatment was not just directed towards young men, but also towards their parents:

The reason behind why have we reacted in this way is that an elderly and respected man from our local area was pushed down on the ground and baton charged by the police. This is beyond our limits [of tolerance] and we will never accept it. It is one thing that we are treated like this, but quite another that even our parents meet the same treatment. And the police deny it.⁵²⁴

In the article, the authors criticised the politicians, experts, and others who had been commenting in the press during the riots, who they claimed did not know anything about their situation. However, they also promised to stop the uprising, in the hope that the media and the police would in future show them some respect.⁵²⁵

The riots and arrests continued night after night in Nørrebro until 19 February. A few days later they spread out to some other parts of Copenhagen, as well as to the city of Kalundberg (in the North-East of Copenhagen).⁵²⁶

There has not been an official enquiry into, or report on, the Nørrebro riots. However, in an interview conducted after she had met with a delegation of young people from Nørrebro, the then Copenhagen Police Commissioner, Hanne Bech Hansen, made it clear that the police should avoid carrying out intimate body searches, for weapons or drugs, in public places.⁵²⁷

An Open Society Justice Initiative (2009) report comments that, while the riots were triggered by the “alleged mistreatment by Danish police of an elderly man of Palestinian origin”, they “had deeper roots in the routine use of stop-and-search tactics to single out and harass minorities”.⁵²⁸

Certainly, an overall conclusion that emerges from the riots is that, at the time, many young men from ethnic minorities felt discriminated and humiliated in their interactions with the police in public places.⁵²⁹

It may be that these young men, predominantly from low income families, tend to spend more time in public spaces, and often in groups, as they lack alternative after-

⁵²⁴ *Politiken Declaration.*

⁵²⁵ *Politiken Declaration.*

⁵²⁶ *DR website article.*

⁵²⁷ *DR website article.*

⁵²⁸ Open Society Justice Initiative, *Ethnic Profiling in the EU*, p. 50.

⁵²⁹ This finding is also supported by the available research literature discussed previously in Section A). See: Holmberg, 1999; and Ansel-Henry and Jespersen, 2003.

school facilities.⁵³⁰ They are therefore relatively more exposed to police surveillance and ethnic profiling techniques, and so more liable to complain about unwarranted police stop-and-searches.

However, a deeper underlying aspect of the riots in Nørrebro is the general portrayal of young people from ethnic minorities as “culturally criminal”,⁵³¹ which had been built up by the media during the 1990s, and which impacts on police attitudes.⁵³² This tendency is explored further in Chapter 11 of this report, on the role of the media.

9.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

9.2.1 Overall satisfaction with the police

The survey respondents were first asked about their overall satisfaction with the work of the police (see Table 39. below).

⁵³⁰ Feedback from focus groups.

⁵³¹ For example, just some days after the riots in Nørrebro, on 26 February 2008, a special police squad raided various locations in the area that were considered to be hangouts for what the media and police termed “immigrant criminal gangs”, in search of lethal weapons. The raid was in connection with organised crime linked to the illicit drugs market. There have long been tensions in Nørrebro between the (native Danish) Hell Angels Rockers (and their “support club”, a gang called AK81) and the “immigrant criminal gangs” that were reported to be threatening their market share in the illicit drug trade. Tensions between these groups have, in the past, led to shoot-outs between members of these gangs on the open streets, which have, unsurprisingly, led to feelings of insecurity among some local residents. DR TV-News 26 August 2008, 21.00 Bulletin.

⁵³² See, for example: Hussain and Monnier, 2003.

Table 39. Are you satisfied with the work of the police?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Very satisfied	15	13	28
Fairly satisfied	45	30	75
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	15	14	29
Fairly dissatisfied	15	23	38
Very dissatisfied	5	14	19
Don't know	5	5	10
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	100

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The majority of Muslims (60 respondents), but a smaller proportion of non-Muslims (43 respondents), were either fairly or very satisfied with policing in the local area.

Nonetheless, a significant minority (20 Muslims and 37 non-Muslims) did indicate that they were fairly or very dissatisfied with the police. It should also be noted that only a small number of young people were included in the survey.⁵³³ Yet, it is young people who are more likely to encounter police in the street and complain about instances of improper behavior.⁵³⁴

This kind of subjective evaluation can, of course, be strongly influenced by personal experience – in this case, contacts with the local police force. This was explored in a second survey question, which addressed respondents' experiences in their actual interactions with the local police (see Table 40 below).

⁵³³ See Table 3 for further details on the age breakdown of survey respondents.

⁵³⁴ See also Chapters 9 and 11 of this report.

Table 40. Were you satisfied with the conduct and outcome of your contact with the police?

(1) Did you have contact with the police in the course of the previous year?	(2) If so, were you satisfied with the conduct and outcome of your contact with the police?"	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Yes	Yes	25	37	62
	No	14	21	35
No	NA	61	42	103
Total (number of interviewees)		100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey found that a majority of Muslims (61 respondents), and a smaller proportion of non-Muslims (42 respondents), had had no personal contact with the police in the course of the previous year.

For those who did report such personal contact, a majority of both Muslims (25 out of 39 respondents) and non-Muslims (37 out of 58 respondents) indicated that they were satisfied with the conduct and outcome of their contact(s) with the police.

For the remainder, who indicated that they were not satisfied with their contact(s), a further survey question sought to elucidate the reasons for their dissatisfaction. The most frequent responses are shown below (see Table 41 below), but given that these were so varied, no overall conclusions can be drawn from these data.

Table 41. Why were you not satisfied when you had contact with the police?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
I didn't get the help I needed	4	3	7
My personal rights and integrity were violated	1	5	6
Lack of communication between police and citizens	2	3	5
They don't give the best service they could	1	3	4
They were aggressive and unfair	0	4	4
Other responses	5	3	8
No response	1	0	1
Total (number of interviewees)	14	21	35

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Sorted by total number of responses

Another indicator of the generally high levels of satisfaction with policing in Nørrebro is that neither improved policing nor crime prevention were selected as priorities, when respondents were asked to prioritise three areas of local services that they felt needed special attention (see Table 42 below).

Table 42. What are your top three priorities for improvements to areas of service?*

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
More facilities for young people	26	29	55
Street cleanliness	5	20	25
Better educational standards in primary and secondary schools	12	4	16
Cheaper house rents	7	6	13
Cheaper and better public transport	7	6	13
Better healthcare / shorter waiting lists at hospitals / better services for ethnic minorities	8	1	9
Improved policing	3	4	7
Increased political influence (enhanced dialogue between citizens and politicians)	3	4	7
Traffic regulation	1	4	5
More focus on integration and learning Danish	2	3	5
Crime prevention	4	0	4
Higher social assistance (including for people on social benefits and receiving the "Start-help" allowance)	3	0	3
Even dispersal of ethnic groups	0	2	2
Better care for the elderly	1	1	2
Funding for local activities	0	2	2
Better job opportunities	1	0	1
Other (including provision of more green areas and help for socially vulnerable families)	1	3	4
I am satisfied	1	3	4
Don't know	1	5	6
Total (number of responses)**	86	97	183

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Notes: *Sorted by total number of responses

**This does not correlate with the total number of respondents as, for this question, some respondents chose up to three priorities while others did not respond at all.

Policing was not mentioned by many as a key service that needed improvement. However, given the recent confrontations in Nørrebro between young people and the police (see Section 10.1 above), it may be significant that the highest number of

responses, for both Muslims and non-Muslims, was for greater attention to be paid to the development of more youth services. Respondents felt that there was a particular need for more local facilities offering after-school leisure and sports activities for young people. This point was also highlighted in interviews conducted in January 2008, as part of the Open Society Foundations pilot study in Nørrebro, including with volunteers from a local “parents group”.

9.2.2 Trust in the police

Finally, survey respondents were also asked to assess the trustworthiness of different institutions, including the police (see Table 43 below).

Table 43. How much do you trust the police?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
A lot	34	28	62
A fair amount	39	42	81
Not very much	21	16	37
Not at all	6	10	16
Don't know	0	3	3
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey revealed high levels of trust in the police, with the majority of respondents (73 Muslims and 70 non-Muslims) indicating that they had a lot, or a fair amount, of trust in the police.

These results would seem to indicate higher levels of trust in the police as an institution, than in satisfaction with their work at the local level.

9.2.3 Policing and ethnic profiling

Policing and security issues were also discussed at length in one of the focus groups held with Muslims.⁵³⁵ Here, complaints about policing and ethnic profiling were more pronounced than in the Open Society Foundations survey responses.⁵³⁶ This was especially the case for the more well-informed participants, including volunteer activists engaged in issues relating to integration and crime prevention among young people from ethnic minorities. These activists seek to make contact with groups of young people who are on the streets in the evenings and who may be at risk of making trouble. In some cases, they may talk to the parents of these young people, or call the police if the situation is deemed likely to get out of control.

Mirroring research findings from Denmark and other EU countries (see Section 9.1 above), there was unanimous consensus in the focus group that police ethnic profiling, which resulted in unwarranted stop-and-searches of young men, was a matter of grave concern.⁵³⁷ The regular police were reported by some participants to be brutal and disrespectful toward these young people, irrespective of whether they were dealing with a normal law-abiding individual or a petty criminal.

One focus group participant recounted his personal experience of ethnic profiling at the main train station in Copenhagen:

I came from Aarhus by train and suddenly at the stairs [for the exit] stood a young policeman, and all the white Danes are coming [passing through] – no problem, but when I arrive he stops me, without saying excuse me. And then he says, “I would like to see you ID card”. [...] there were 200 people in the train, and he stops me and says that they are looking for a black man. [...] My problem was that some foreigner, or someone from Africa, had stolen a bag, and then they stop all the blacks, all the browns, all the non-white people. [...] this is a huge problem these days, that police patrol the streets, in Nørrebro, and many

⁵³⁵ Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation). The participants in this session were mainly professionals working on integration issues, and relatively better educated than the average for Muslim immigrants. The group comprised both first-generation immigrants and the descendents of immigrants, who had been entirely raised and schooled in Denmark.

⁵³⁶ Such concerns were also raised in the four Open Society Foundations pilot interviews conducted in January 2008, only a month before the riots broke out in Nørrebro. For example, in the sports hall where an interview was ongoing, a group of six or seven young boys, all of them from a Muslim background, gathered around the interviewer and began recounting their different stories about alleged police harassment, unwarranted stop-and-searches and abusive language used by police officers. They gave one example: Without even knowing the name of the person they had stopped, police officers would address them with calls such as “Hi Ali” (or “Hi Muhammed”), and then say “Stop, I want to talk to you”. The boys found this mode of address abusive and insulting.

⁵³⁷ Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

other places, and they stop only the young people with a different skin colour. And search them. And people are really angry over it.⁵³⁸

Another focus group participant, who had been working for several years as a volunteer in a parents' group in Nørrebro with the aim to keep young people away from the streets and crime, expressed his view on the tensions between the police and young people from ethnic minorities as follows:

I will provide you with an example of the latest episode of burning [of cars and garbage containers in Nørrebro, by young people from ethnic minorities]. I was asked by Lord Mayor Ritt Bjerrgaard, to bring these youngsters together as she would like to talk to them. I managed to bring them together, about 60-70 youngsters, in the local community house. And she stood up and spoke to them and after half an hour of a dialogue back and forth, one of these youth, stood up and he says to her, "I don't think that you have understood all that this is about". And she replies, "All right, but can't you then explain it to me?". "OK" [says he] and comes forward and says [to the crowd of young people] "All of you, who have been exposed to discrimination by the police in recent times should stand up [from your chairs]". 95 per cent of the youngsters stood up – 95 per cent! And this has not left any impression on the Lord Mayor.⁵³⁹

The focus group participants were generally of the view that the tendency for police in Nørrebro to indiscriminately treat young people from ethnic minorities as potential suspects was a problem itself, and led to unnecessary tensions. One participant emphasised the need for fairness in police treatment of those with a Muslim or immigrant identity in Denmark:

[...] we should be treated just like any other. Our criminals, yes, they should be punished, of course! And the harsher the crime they commit the harder they should be punished. But they should not have a double punishment, because they are immigrants.⁵⁴⁰

The focus group participants also noted that the general media and political discourse in Denmark on subjects such as Muslims, terrorism, and integration does not help to calm the situation at the local level.⁵⁴¹ Among the solutions identified by the group was increased cooperation between the regular police and local representatives of minority communities, rather than relying on policing methods alone. To be effective, they also emphasised the need for such cooperation to be developed over the long-term, rather

⁵³⁸ Participant from Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

⁵³⁹ Participant from Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁴⁰ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁴¹ For further details, see Chapter 11 of this report on the role of the media.

than as a “knee-jerk” response to a particular incident or problem, such as the 2008 riots in Nørrebro.

Participants in the focus group⁵⁴² also highlighted that the national and local governmental measures on preventing radicalisation (see Section 9.1 above) would only serve to generally stigmatise young Muslims.

A participant from another focus group contrasted the positive role of the PET with the negative attitude of the national government, which had failed to heed the advice of the PET:

They [the PET] recently told them that they should stop and be careful [and advised] which words they should not use. They shouldn't connect and equate those words with Islam, or this and that. For example, they should not repeat, like a gramophone record, that Islam is the basic reason for terrorism.⁵⁴³

Finally, focus group participants were of the view that, rather than implementing approaches based on “top-down” surveillance and control, the municipal authorities should instead seek to further involve local community leaders and activists in measures to prevent criminality among the young people from ethnic minority communities. The police were also criticised for not taking seriously hate crimes and ethnically-based discrimination.

⁵⁴² Participant from Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁴³ Participant from Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city)

10. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENSHIP

10.1 Background

This section (10.1) draws on official data and information from recent studies and reports on the situation regarding minority participation and citizenship, as well as interviews carried out for this report. It is divided into two subsections: national research findings (10.1.1) and Copenhagen policy and practice (10.1.2). The following section (10.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations questionnaires and focus groups.

10.1.1 National research findings

Legislative framework

In 1981, the Danish Parliament passed a bill that gave all immigrants with a minimum of three years legal residence in the country the right to vote and to compete in local elections for the city and regional councils of the municipalities and counties.⁵⁴⁴ However, subsequent amendments in 2010 increased this time limit to four years, for those immigrants coming from countries outside of the European Union (EU) and European Economic Area (EEA).⁵⁴⁵ According to human rights specialists and NGOs, this change may have a negative impact on the political participation of immigrants falling into this category.⁵⁴⁶

Only Danish citizens can vote for the election of the national Parliament.⁵⁴⁷ There are currently four Members of Parliament with a Muslim background sitting in the single-chamber national legislative body (*Folketinget*).⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Law on the Amendment of the Law on Local and Regional Elections (*Lov om ændring af lov om kommunale valg*) of 24 March 1981. For further details on how and when this law was amended, see: Ole Stige Andersen, *Stem Sort* (Vote Black), 1989. Available at: <http://www.olestig.dk/stemsort/ss.2.html> (accessed 1 December 2010).

⁵⁴⁵ Law no. 571 on Changes to the Integration Law and other different laws (*Lov om ændring af integrationsloven og forskellige andre love*) of 31 May 2010, Article 6.1. Text available (in Danish) at: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=13211> (accessed 1 November 2010).

⁵⁴⁶ See: DACoRD, Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at its 77th session (2–27 August 2010) on the consideration of the 18th and 19th periodic reports of DENMARK, Documentary and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination Denmark (Dokumentations og Rådgivningscenter om Racediskrimination; DACoRD), Paragraph 85, p. 22. Available at: <http://www.drcenter.dk> (accessed 17 September 2010). Also: Institut for Menneskerettigheder, *Notat om Udlændingepakke 2010*, (Note on the Immigration Package 2010), Institut for Menneskerettigheder (Institute for Human Rights), Copenhagen, 2010, p. 4. Available at: http://menneskeret.dk/files/pdf/Hoeringssvar/2010/34_Notat_Udlændingepakken_12_05_2010.pdf (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁵⁴⁷ Law on the Amendment of the Law on Local and Regional Elections (*Lov om ændring af lov om kommunale valg*) of 24 March 1981.

Citizenship in a multicultural society

In the social sciences, there has long been debate⁵⁴⁹ on the various dimensions of citizenship rights, ranging from formal legal rights to cultural citizenship – namely, the recognition of cultural plurality and parity in state institutions. Cultural citizenship would include, for example, recognition of some basic rights pertaining to an individual's cultural identity, such as the right to take a day off from work or school on a religious holiday.

This concept can also be viewed in terms of citizenship in a multicultural and multiethnic society, where state institutions recognise the need for affirmative action to include marginalised sections of society into the law-making and wider democratic processes.⁵⁵⁰ This could include, for example, consultation with Muslim groups about issues relating to education policy and school curricula, or legislation on divorce, marriage, or inheritance.

According to some researchers, the idea of multiculturalism, and the acceptance of diversity, has come under severe attack in some of the most liberal Western societies, following the attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001.⁵⁵¹

In Denmark, however, multiculturalism has never been promoted in the political culture as the way ahead to face the challenges of increasing cultural and religious diversity.⁵⁵² Mainstream politicians, including the Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterne*), have always publicly rejected the idea of multiculturalism, or that Danish society should be run on multiethnic norms or principles. For example, during a public speech in Aalborg, the former prime minister and chairman of the Social Democrats, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, said the following:

Denmark is not a multiethnic society and it should not be one. We shall insist on our own living norms otherwise we would not be able to survive. We should

⁵⁴⁸ Kamal Qureshi and Özlem Cekis (Socialist People's Party; *Socialistisk Folkeparti*), Nasar Khadar (the Conservative People's Party; *Konservative Folkeparti*) and Yildiz Akdogan (the Social Democrats; *Socialdemokraterne*).

⁵⁴⁹ Since the seminal work of the British scholar T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, in 1950. Republished in: T. H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Pluto Press, London, 1992.

⁵⁵⁰ For one of the most debated proponents of this view, see: Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural citizenship. A liberal theory of minority rights*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

⁵⁵¹ T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou, and R. Zapata-Barreo (eds), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship. A European approach*, Routledge, London, 2006.

⁵⁵² P. Mouritsen, "The particular universalism of a Nordic civic nation: Common values, State religion and Islam in Danish political culture", in T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou, and R. Zapata-Barreo (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship. A European approach*, Routledge, London, 2006.

be consequent in our rules as to who should be allowed to come in and how they should live their life here.⁵⁵³

From a formal and legal perspective, Muslim citizens in Denmark enjoy all the universal rights that are considered vital for a vibrant democracy in a modern welfare state. These include civic or social rights (such as rights of assembly and association, and rights to social benefits and healthcare), political rights (such as the right to participate in political processes and elections), and economic rights (such as the right to participate in the mainstream labour market, and the right to be insured against unemployment).

There are no restrictions on the practice of any faith or religion in Denmark. However, it is the exercise of cultural citizenship (see above) that has been one of the core issues raised by national organisations representing migrants, ever since the labour migrants arriving in the 1960s⁵⁵⁴ first began to organise themselves on political, national, or cultural platforms in the mid-1970s.⁵⁵⁵ At this time, Danish NGOs, professional associations, and intellectuals assisted the labour migrants in their initial struggles, and to find a voice in the decision-making processes of the local and national governments.⁵⁵⁶ These struggles were concerned with a wide range of issues, including obtaining permission for the ritual slaughter of animals (for *halal* meat), recognition of Islamic marriage certificates, and obtaining tax reductions for payments to support families in the country of emigration.

Political participation of migrants

It is known that, in general, migrants tend to vote less frequently than native Danes.⁵⁵⁷ There is no single explanation for this lower rate of participation. However, political scientists have referred to factors such as socioeconomic position, level of education,

⁵⁵³ Reported in the national daily newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, on 28 October 1997.

⁵⁵⁴ For further details, see Section 2.2 of this report on immigration trends.

⁵⁵⁵ See: M. Hussain, "Etniske minoriteters politiske organisering i Danmark" (Political organisation of the ethnic minorities in Denmark), in F. Mikkelsen (ed.), *Bevægelser i Demokrati*. Political movements in democracy, Aarhus University Publishers, Aarhus, 2002 (hereafter Hussain, 2002(a)). Also: F. Mikkelsen, *Indvandrere og civil samfund* (Immigrants and civil society), AMID Working Paper Series no. 18, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002, (hereafter Mikkelsen, 2002); and F. Mikkelsen, *Indvandrere Organisationer i Norden* (Immigrant Organisations in the Nordic Countries), Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID) and the Council of Nordic Ministers, Aalborg, 2003.

⁵⁵⁶ See also: Mikkelsen, 2008.

⁵⁵⁷ For an overview of these, see, for example: Mikkelsen, 2008.

access to Danish citizenship, and contact with the wider surrounding society, as all being influential on the voting behaviour among ethnic minorities.⁵⁵⁸

An analysis of the results from the local elections of November 2009 revealed that 68 per cent of native Danes who could vote did so, as compared to just 37 per cent of eligible (first generation) immigrants and 36 per cent of the descendents of immigrants (second and third generation immigrants). The report finds it is surprising that the descendents of immigrants, who have been brought up in Denmark and have attended Danish schools, are participating in local elections to a lesser degree than first generation immigrants.⁵⁵⁹

This report also compared the development of political participation rates over time for the two largest Danish cities, Copenhagen and Aarhus. Here, the proportion of immigrants participating in elections was found to have decreased dramatically over the past 12 years, with an 11 per cent loss of voters in Copenhagen and a 17 per cent loss in Aarhus.⁵⁶⁰ The difference between participation rates for native Danes and for ethnic minorities was found to have increased correspondingly over this period.

A recent survey (October 2010), presenting the results for Denmark from a major European research project, INTEC, also reveals a negative development concerning the participation of immigrants (including Muslims) in national and local elections.⁵⁶¹ The Danish results reveal that the ongoing introduction of new tests for immigrants, including language tests⁵⁶² and the “citizenship test”,⁵⁶³ makes it almost unattainable

⁵⁵⁸ See, for example: L. Elklit, Birgit Møller, Palle Svendsen and Lise Togeby, *Gensyn med sofavælgerne. Valgdeltagelse i Danmark* (Re-visiting the passive electorate. Voting behaviour in Denmark), Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Aarhus, 2005. Also: L. Togeby, “Participation in Elections”, in Christiansen Simon, Rikke Egga Jørgensen, Kirsten Gelting, *et al* (eds.), *Minority Report: Focus on ethnic equality in Denmark*, MixEurope, first edition, Copenhagen, October 2004.

⁵⁵⁹ Yosef Bhatti and Kasper Møller Hansen, *Valgdeltagelse ved kommunevalget 17. november 2009. Beskrivende analyser af valgdeltagelsen baseret på registerdata*. (Turnout at the municipal election of 17 November 2009. Descriptive analysis of voter turnout based data from the National Register), Institut for Statskundskab, Arbejdspapir 2010/3 (Department of Political Science, Working Paper 2010/3) (hereafter Bhatti and Hansen, 2010). Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rldonlyres/4E15849D-A7CD-4D42-95B4-6B5DEAD19510/0/valgdeltagelse_rapport_2009.pdf (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁵⁶⁰ Bhatti and Hansen, 2010.

⁵⁶¹ Eva Ersbøll and Laura K Gravesen, *Country Report Denmark*, Centre for Migration Law, Radbaud University Nijmegen, Netherland, 2010. Available at: <http://menneskeret.dk/files/pdf/Denmark%20final.pdf> (accessed 31 October 2010).

⁵⁶² Applicants for Danish citizenship are required to provide a certificate of proficiency in the Danish language. Further details are available on the “New to Denmark” (*Ny i Danmark*) website. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/danish_nationality/citizenship_test.htm (accessed 1 July 2010).

for some migrants and refugees to obtain Danish citizenship. It is concluded that these tests lead to political resignation, rather than active citizenship.⁵⁶⁴

Another study has specifically looked at the rate of participation of ethnonational groups with a Muslim majority in civil society organisations and associations, such as ethnic or national associations or societies. This study found that 23 per cent of Turks, 13 per cent of Pakistanis, and 24 per cent of former Yugoslavians participated in civic activities, with men relatively more active than women.⁵⁶⁵ These are considered to be a fairly moderate participation rates.

The Open Society Foundations survey looks at rates of political and civic participation among residents of the Nørrebro District of Copenhagen (see Section 10.2 below). Although the sample frame is not strictly statistically representative, the survey results do nonetheless indicate a lower rate of political participation (at the national and local levels) for the Muslim residents, as compared to the non-Muslim residents. This result corresponds to those from national surveys.⁵⁶⁶

Minority representation

In Denmark, a number of institutions and forums have been created at the national and local level, with the aim to include minority representation in the democratic decision-making processes. These advisory bodies include the Integration Councils (*Integrationsrådene*) at the municipality level, and the Council of Ethnic Minorities (*Invanderrådet*) at the national level.

The performance of these advisory bodies in practice, in terms of their real impact on decision-making and policy, is, as yet, a poorly explored area. However, some writers have taken a critical stance, arguing that these bodies lack both the human and material resources necessary to play their role efficiently.⁵⁶⁷ Other writers have commented that,

⁵⁶³ Since 2007, applicants for Danish citizenship have been required to pass a compulsory “citizenship test” that tests their knowledge of Danish society, culture, and history. Details on the “citizenship test” are available on the “New to Denmark” (*Ny i Danmark*) website. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/danish_nationality/citizenship_test.htm (accessed 1 July 2010).

⁵⁶⁴ See also Section 2.3 of this report on access to citizenship.

⁵⁶⁵ The survey focused on the civil society organisations and associations that have a charter and membership, and often annual membership fees and annual or biannual elections. See: G. Schmidt and V. Jacobsen, *20 år I Danmark. En undersøgelse af nydanskernes situation og erfaringer* (20 years in Denmark: research on the situation and experiences of the new Danes), the National Centre for Welfare Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd; SFI), Copenhagen, 2000.

⁵⁶⁶ For an overview see, for example: Mikkelsen, 2008.

⁵⁶⁷ See: C. Kehlet, *Demokratiske barrierer – Om etniske minoriteters politisk deltagelse i Danmark* (The democratic barriers – political participation of immigrants in Denmark), MA dissertation, Institute of Anthropology, Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, 2000, (hereafter Kehlet, 2000). Also: Hussain, 2002(a).

unlike other consultative bodies to the municipal governments, these advisory bodies lack both the required expertise and a truly democratic representation of the various minority groups and communities currently represented in Denmark.⁵⁶⁸

The participation of ethnic minorities in local and general elections has been analysed by a number of social scientists in Denmark.⁵⁶⁹ These have questioned whether ethnic minorities in Denmark have any real influence on the betterment of their daily life or on viable solutions for the problems they face. They argue, in particular, that advisory bodies such as the Integration Councils raise the question of a truly democratic representation, and lead to a “co-opting” by the state of those individuals from ethnic minorities who cooperate with state policies, at the expense of the genuine interests of the wider minority communities. They are also of the view that it is the media, not the minority communities themselves, that decides who is to be considered an “expert” for consultations on minority issues, and can thus exert power over the wider political consensus and decision-making processes.

However, other researchers are of the view that, despite their marginal influence on political decision-making, the advisory bodies nonetheless provide an opportunity for individuals from minority communities to gain an introduction to the processes involved in democracy and political participation.⁵⁷⁰ Another researcher has challenged the claim that the advisory bodies have “no influence”, insisting that the minority representatives do have their voices heard by politicians and are heeded to in the democratic decision-making processes.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ See: Hussain, 2002(a); and C. D. Græm, *Constituting political community: The case of Danish Integration Councils*, MSc. dissertation in Political Science, Department of Sociology, LSE, London, 2003.

⁵⁶⁹ See, for example: L. Togeby, *Etnisk minoriteters deltagelse i demokratiske processer, herunder politiske partier, valg og offentlig debat* (Participation in the democratic processes: ethnic minorities’ participation in political parties, elections and the public debate), AMID Working Paper Series no. 20, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2002. Also: O. Hammer and I. Bruun, *Etnisk minoriteters indflydelseskanaler* (Ethnic minorities’ channels of influence), the Power Inquiry, Danish Parliament and the Department of Political Science at Aarhus University, Aarhus, 2000. Also: Kehlet, 2000; Hussain, 2002(a); and Mikkelsen, 2002.

⁵⁷⁰ For alternative views, see: Togeby, 2003(b). For a general assessment of the structure and performance of the advisory bodies, see: Mikkelsen, 2008.

⁵⁷¹ U. Hedetoft, “Etnisk minoriteters kontakt til den øvrige befolkning” (Ethnic minorities’ contacts with the rest of the population), in *Integrationsforskningen i Danmark 1980–2002* (Integration Research in Denmark 1980–2002), Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integrationen), Copenhagen, 2002, Chapter 6.

10.1.2 Copenhagen policy and practice

Copenhagen – initiatives supporting political participation

In 2010, the Copenhagen City Council decided to replace its Integration Council (*Integrationsrådet*) with another body (an Expert Think Tank on Integration), following debate on its effectiveness.⁵⁷² The City Council will, however, continue to consult with imams and Muslim organisations, such as the Federation of Muslim Associations (*Muslimernes Fællesråd*), in matters relating to integration and anti-radicalisation among Muslim young people.

The Copenhagen City Council has also supported capacity-building activities targeted at NGOs and other organisations working with the migrant communities, which, by providing support and information on rights and local services, indirectly encourage political participation. For example, in 2010 the Council supported the establishment of a network of Copenhagen-based NGOs (called *NGO Fællesinitiativet*) working to combat racism and discrimination.⁵⁷³

Danish language skills are a prerequisite for political participation. The Copenhagen City Council has supported several initiatives targeting isolated Muslim women, who have been living in Denmark for many years and who have never had access to the courses in Danish language that are now offered to all newcomers.

For example, volunteers from Danish Refugee Council (*Dansk Flygtningehjælp*) have established a “Language Café” (*Sprog Café*), open for two hours once a week, in the World Culture Centre (*Verdenskulturcentret*) in Nørrebro District, to meet a need among ethnic minority women for language improvement and social interaction with one another.⁵⁷⁴ This initiative is very popular and has highlighted the potential for creating activities linking access to language training and information on citizenship in an informal setting, where participants feel comfortable.

Also at this centre, the association *Shahrazad* provides opportunities for Muslim women, aged 40-65, to practise speaking Danish and to exchange information and experiences.⁵⁷⁵ These courses, which can include up to 24 women, are very popular and are always oversubscribed.

⁵⁷² For further details, see Section 4.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

⁵⁷³ For further details, see Section 4.4 of this report on the Copenhagen City Council.

⁵⁷⁴ Website of the World Culture Centre (Verdenskulturcentret), webpage of the “Language Café” (*Sprog Café*). Available at: http://www.kubik.kk.dk/verdenskulturcentret/arrangementer/copy9_of_sprogcafe-for-kvinder (accessed 31st October.2010).

⁵⁷⁵ For further details, see Section 8.1 of this report on health and social protection.

10.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

10.2.1 Political participation

The Open Society Foundations survey included questions on eligibility to vote in national and local elections, as well as actual participation rates (see Table 44 below):

Table 44. Are you eligible to vote, and do you actually vote, in the national and local elections?

Question	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Are you eligible to vote in national elections?	Yes	52	86	138
	No	48	13	61
	No response	0	1	1
	Total	100	100	200
(2) Did you vote in the last national election?	Yes	42	82	124
	No	58	17	75
	No response	0	1	1
	Total	100	100	200
(3) Are you eligible to vote in local elections?	Yes	82	91	173
	No	18	8	26
	No response	0	1	1
	Total	100	100	200
(4) Did you vote in the last local council election?	Yes	61	79	140
	No	39	20	59
	No response	0	1	1
	Total	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

As detailed above (see Section 10.1), while only Danish citizens are eligible to vote in national elections, all immigrants with a minimum of three years legal residence in the country (or four years, for those coming from non-EU/EEA countries) have the right to vote in local elections.

According to the survey results, a slim majority of Muslim interviewees (52 respondents) were eligible to vote in national elections. Of these, the majority (42 respondents) did actually vote in the last national election (in 2005). A much higher proportion of Muslim interviewees (82 respondents) were eligible to vote for their local and regional councils. Again, the majority of those eligible to vote (61 respondents) did actually use this right in the last local council election (in 2005).

The corresponding participation rate for non-Muslims was higher than that of Muslims, both in national elections (82 out of 86 respondents) and local elections (79 out of 91 respondents).

Although the sample frame from Nørrebro is not strictly statistically representative, it can be noted that these results mirror national voting patterns, where there is a tendency for migrants to vote less frequently than native Danes (see Section 10.1 above). Yet, although proportionally more Muslims than non-Muslims abstain from using their voting rights, it can also be seen that, by any standards of voting behaviour, the participation rates for both groups are quite high.

The survey results indicate no significant difference between women and men regarding participation in local or national elections.

In addition to questions on voting behaviour, the survey also asked respondents about their participation in other political activities, such as attending public demonstrations or meetings, or signing a petition (see Table 45. below).

Table 45. Have you attended a public meeting / demonstration or signed a petition in the last 12 months?

In the last 12 months have you:	Response	Number of interviewees		
		Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) Attended a public meeting or rally?	Yes	37	56	93
	No or no response	63	44	106
	Total	100	100	200
(2) Taken part in a public demonstration?	Yes	31	57	88
	No or no response	69	43	111
	Total	100	100	200
(3) Signed a petition?	Yes	48	72	120
	No or no response	52	28	79
	Total	100	100	200
(4) Taken part in a consultation or meeting about local services or problems in the local area?	Yes	27	22	49
	No or no response	73	78	150
	Total	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey responses indicate that a higher proportion of non-Muslims (56 respondents) than Muslims (37 respondents) had attended a public rally or meeting in the past 12 months. The proportions were similar for those who had taken part in a public demonstration over the same time period (57 non-Muslims and 31 Muslims). The highest rates of participation were for those who had signed a petition in the past twelve months (72 non-Muslims and 48 Muslims). Female participation in all these activities was slightly lower than male participation, both for Muslims and non-Muslims.

Also relevant to this analysis of political participation is the feedback from the Open Society Foundations focus groups of Muslims from Nørrebro. One of these brought together a group of professionals and other relatively highly-educated individuals to

discuss a range of topics concerning political participation.⁵⁷⁶ The main findings from these discussions included the following:

- an observed general apathy among Muslim citizens
- a lack of social and cultural capital among the Muslim politicians
- a lack of cooperation between the elected politicians from ethnic minorities in the Copenhagen City Council
- a generally negative attitude, on the part of the Muslim population, toward the minority associations and organisations (NGOs) that receive most media coverage⁵⁷⁷

One woman participant spoke about the difficulties for Muslims trying to gain the acceptance of a political party and to stand in local elections:

I always feel that being a Muslim one has to do [a good deal of] extra work just to be recognised for what one stands for. [Already] in school, it is not enough that you are brilliant, but you have to prove that you are the best before you are recognised on an equal footing with your classmates. So I do not feel that it is so [that you have the same opportunities].⁵⁷⁸

Another participant agreed that, in the context of political participation, the formal right to contest an election is not sufficient. Given the current political and media climate, he was of the view that any one having a Muslim background would already be “suspect” in the eyes of the public, referring in particular to the impact of the anti-radicalisation policies.⁵⁷⁹

[It is] one thing is to have the possibilities and rights to take part in the societal processes. But it is quite another thing, how you are treated as a citizen. This can be the case in the local areas but it is also a broader case. And with the latest measures, which we are witnessing at the moment, we are reaching the [former East German] DDR situation. And with that I mean that we have begun to talk that the school teachers, managers and coaches in sports clubs, and the scout leaders shall keep eye on [young Muslims] to monitor increasing radicalisation

⁵⁷⁶ Focus Group C (men and women, aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁷⁷ This included criticism of some minority organisations (NGOs) that are viewed as having wasted funds provided by the state during the 1990s. Feedback from participants in Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁷⁸ Open Society Foundations Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁷⁹ For further details on anti-radicalisation policies, see Section 10.1 of this report.

among the youth without ever bothering to define what radicalisation is all about.⁵⁸⁰

This participant also regretted that young people from ethnic minorities were not more politically active, particularly in terms of protesting against institutional discrimination.

One topical question raised in the focus group discussions was the national debate (at the time) as to whether a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf (*hijab*), or other visible sign of her religion, could serve as a member of a jury or a court judge, or be allowed to speak from the podium of the Danish Parliament. This debate later ended with the 2009 decision of the Danish Parliament to pass a bill prohibiting any judge or jury member from entering the court while wearing religious clothing or symbols.⁵⁸¹

One participant took the view that any politician who shows signs of religiosity is perceived by the general public as being less objective, a remark that remained unopposed in the session:

[...] so if you are not religious, you will be considered the most neutral, but if you have religion, be it Islam, Christianity or any other religion, also Judaism, you are not taken to be neutral.⁵⁸²

10.2.2 Trust in national and local government

The Open Society Foundations survey also investigated levels of trust in both the national government and the local authorities (see Table 46 below).

⁵⁸⁰ Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁵⁸¹ Law no. 495, Law on Change of Procedures (*Lov om ændring af retsplejeloven*), of 12 June, 2009. Text accessible (in Danish) at: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20081/lovforslag/L98/index.htm#dok> (accessed 1st December 2010).

⁵⁸² Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

Table 46. How much do you trust the national government and local City Council?

How much do you trust:	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) The national government?	A lot	8	4	12
	A fair amount	30	33	63
	Not very much	28	35	63
	Not at all	25	27	52
	Don't know	9	0	9
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) The Copenhagen City Council?	A lot	14	4	18
	A fair amount	41	45	86
	Not very much	22	24	46
	Not at all	11	8	19
	Don't know	12	18	30
	No response	0	1	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey results reveal that the majority of both Muslims (53 respondents) and non-Muslims (62 respondents) showed very little or no trust in the national government

By contrast, there was a far greater level of trust in the Copenhagen City Council among both Muslims and non-Muslims. A majority of Muslims (55 respondents) and non-Muslims (49 respondents) replied that they had a lot or a fair amount of confidence in the City Council.

This survey finding, that respondents from Nørrebro (both Muslims and non-Muslims) express more trust in their local government than in the national government, may reflect a greater sense of political identification with their local government due to its different political make-up. While there has been a right-wing

national government since 2001, in Nørrebro there has traditionally been a left-leaning electoral majority.

The propensity to participate in political processes, including the motivation to vote, increases if people believe that their vote can bring about a positive change for themselves. The survey sought feedback from respondents as to whether they believed that they could influence decisions affecting both their country (Denmark) and their local area (Nørrebro and Copenhagen) (see Table 47 below).

Table 47. Do you agree that you can influence decisions affecting the country or your local area?

Do you agree that you can influence decisions affecting:	Response	Number of interviewees		
		Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) The country?	Definitely agree	3	9	12
	Agree	27	52	80
	Disagree	40	26	66
	Definitely disagree	21	8	29
	Don't know	9	4	13
	No response	0	1	1
	Total	100	100	200
(2) Your local area?	Definitely agree	7	14	21
	Agree	26	56	82
	Disagree	43	25	68
	Definitely disagree	13	3	16
	Don't know	10	1	11
	No response	1	2	3
	Total	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

The survey results reveal a clear difference between Muslims and non-Muslims, with respect to their perceived influence on decisions at the national level. While a majority of non-Muslims (61 respondents) agreed that they could influence such decisions, a majority of Muslims (61 respondents) disagreed.

The results were similar with respect to respondents' perceived influence on decisions at the local level. Again, a majority of non-Muslims (70 respondents) agreed that they could influence such decisions while a majority of Muslims disagreed (56 respondents).

It is difficult to precisely interpret the reasons for this clear difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim groups for these questions. However, these results may reflect, to some degree, the self-esteem of the respondents, given that the surveyed Muslims tend to have a lower socioeconomic position than do the non-Muslims.⁵⁸³

The results for the local level are, perhaps, the most surprising, given that, at the time of the survey there were five (out of a total of 55) elected members serving in the City Council who have a minority background, of whom at least four can be said to have a Muslim background.

However, this finding was also mirrored in the discussions of one of the Open Society Foundations focus groups. Here, a political activist, with several years of experience of engaging with the Copenhagen City Council on local issues, expressed his pessimism at having any influence on local politics:

The possibilities for participation in the democratic process are there. [...] [But] You should not believe that you are [on a par with] a Dane. [...] All that I have experienced through the years is that you are welcome, of course, but you have to play the game by our rules. It has always been like that.⁵⁸⁴

10.2.3 Civic participation

Finally, the Open Society Foundations survey participants were asked whether they had taken part in a consultation or meeting about local services or problems in their local area in the last 12 months (see Table 48 below):

Table 48. Have you taken part in a consultation or meeting about local services or problems in your local area in the last 12 months?

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Yes	27	22	49
No	73	77	150
No response	0	1	1
Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

⁵⁸³ For further details, see Section 1.3 of this report on survey methodology.

⁵⁸⁴ Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

The responses to this question were similar for Muslims and non-Muslims, with around a quarter of respondents (27 non-Muslims and 22 Muslims) having taken part in a consultation or meeting about local services over the last 12 months.

Among those respondents who indicated that they have been active, many took part in the elections of their local associations of residents or tenants, or in the local initiatives aimed at promoting better integration in their residential quarters.

11. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

11.1 Background

This section (11.1) draws on information from available research sources in Denmark, particularly media studies and reports, to provide an overview of national research findings. The following section (11.2) summarises the data and findings from the Open Society Foundations survey and focus groups.

11.1.1 National research findings

National and local media representation of ethnic minorities

Compared to other Nordic countries, there is only limited research in Denmark on the representation of ethnic minorities in the local and the regional media, and the subsequent impact on community relations. The few existing national surveys and research papers examining ethnic representation in the Danish mass media (see below) have focused on the national daily news media (newspapers and television).

Despite the limited research evidence, there is nonetheless widespread consensus among media and minority researchers in Denmark, as well as among representatives of the minority communities⁵⁸⁵ on one point. Namely, that on issues concerning ethnic minorities, and Muslims specifically, it is the mainstream national media (Danish language newspapers and television) that play the most important – and negative, in terms of representation and portrayal – role in the formation of public

⁵⁸⁵ For minority researchers in Denmark: see the references cited later in this chapter. For the representatives of minority communities: this was evident from the qualitative interviews conducted for the final report: M. Hussain, A. Bahar, L. Cavadar and S. Serhin, *Rapport om Mainstream Massemedierne og Etniske Minoriteterne i Danmark* (Report on Mainstream Mass Media and Ethnic Minorities in Denmark), Immigrant Council, Ministry of Interior, Copenhagen, 1993. Since 2004, the Danish wing of ENAR (European Network Against Racism), Brussels, has prepared annual Shadow Reports that also substantiate such conclusions. These are available on the ENAR website at: <http://www.enar-eu.org> (accessed 25 October 2010). The most systematic research on how Danish public discourse about Muslims is shaped by the news discourse in the national media can be found in the following sources: Hussain *et al.*, 1997; Hussain, 2000; and Peter Hervik, *Mediernes Muslimer* (The Muslims of the media), Board for Ethnic Equality, Copenhagen, 2002. For more on how the political rhetoric on minorities is interconnected with their media representation and portrayal, see: Gaasholt and Togeby, 1995.

attitudes and hence political discourse. This conclusion is also in accordance with the vast body of international research and academic studies on media and minorities.⁵⁸⁶

By comparison, the local media in Denmark (including local public service radio, television channels, and weekly newspapers) are considered to be fairer and less biased toward ethnic minorities. However, these media are less influential than the national media, and are generally considered to play an insignificant role in shaping public opinion about the minority population of the local area.

This tendency was also highlighted in the Open Society Foundations survey results and focus group interviews carried out as part of this report (see Section 11.2), where several participants noted the negative role of the national media. This was contrasted with the more positive role played by the local media in Copenhagen run by volunteer associations (such as *Nørrebro TV* and *Kanal København*). These associations were considered to provide access to the voices of minority communities in their programmes, and their reporting was viewed as fair and objective.⁵⁸⁷

Research on media representation of ethnic minorities

The main findings from the few studies on media representation of minorities undertaken in Denmark suggest that a biased reporting on ethnic affairs generally, and on Muslims in particular, has become the norm in Danish media. This development has shown a cumulative tendency since the mid-1980s, following the arrival of increasing numbers of refugees from the Middle East and Iran (see below), and the subsequent sustained mass media campaign waged against Muslim immigration by the Danish Association (*Dansk foreningen*) in the early 1990s.⁵⁸⁸

This tendency was already publicly and widely acknowledged in April 2000, when over one thousand intellectuals, artists, and writers published an appeal protesting against

⁵⁸⁶ See, for example: Ylva Brune, *Immigrants, Refugees and the Swedes in Swedish Media*, Conference Paper, Conference on “Media and Xenophobia”, Hanaholmen, Esbo, 27–28 October 1995. Also: Teun Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, Routledge, London, 1991. Also: Birgitta Löwander, *Racism och antiracism på dagsorden* (Racism and anti-racism on the agenda) Ph.D. Dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, Umeå University, 1997; and Andrew Jakubowicz (ed.), *Racism, Ethnicity and the Media*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 1994. For a theoretically generalised approach to media coverage of minority issue and its effect on public opinion, see: T. A. Van Dijk, *Communicating prejudice: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*, Sage, London, 1987, (hereafter Van Dijk, 1987). Also: P. Hartman and C. Husband, *Racism & the Mass Media*, Davis Poynter, London, 1974, (hereafter Hartman and Husband, 1974).

⁵⁸⁷ It should, nonetheless, be noted that in some towns (although not in Copenhagen Municipality) there do exist local radio stations that propagate against “foreigners” and Muslims. These include *Holger Dansk* and a radio channel in Greve Municipality that is run by neo-Nazis. In addition, there are also a range of Internet sites operated from Denmark that campaign openly against Muslims and Islam. See, for example, the (Danish language) website: <http://www.radioholger.dk> (accessed 25 October 2010).

⁵⁸⁸ For further details, see Section 3.1 of this report on perception of Muslims in Denmark. See also: Yilmaz, 2000(b).

the very tough tone taken against migrant communities in Danish political and media discourse.⁵⁸⁹

This tendency has also been recognised by the migrant communities themselves. In 2001, for example, a qualitative survey carried out in Nørrebro District found that young people were aware of the ways in which Danish newspapers and television channels tended to portray ethnic minorities in a negative light.⁵⁹⁰ They were surprised by the representation of their neighbourhood that they found in the media – one that they, as residents, were unable to recognise. This was particularly the case for media coverage in the aftermath of unrest in Nørrebro on the night of 7 November 1999, when a mixed crowd of young people (both native Danes and others from ethnic minorities) began smashing shop windows and setting rubbish bins on fire.⁵⁹¹ Answering a question from the interviewer about how the Danish media had covered this unrest, one 14-year-old girl replied as follows:

[...] the media do not ever say anything good [about ethnic minorities] and they don't say "now you will hear about this good family that does this, and the dad works in a good job". No, you don't hear about them. You only hear about the bad ones.⁵⁹²

Some early studies (1997 and 1999) already highlighted an indirect, but significant, influence of the national media on the popular perception of ethnic minorities in Denmark, and of Muslims specifically, with Muslims talked about as the binary opposition of all that can be considered as aspects of Danish identity.⁵⁹³ These studies note, for example, how individual crime stories were highlighted as a collective attribute of Muslim or Arab culture, how Muslim immigrants were portrayed as a difficult group to integrate into modern Danish society with its democratic values, and how Muslim gender roles and family structures were represented as incompatible with the Danish norms of gender equality.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁹ The appeal was published in April 2000 in the national daily, *Information*, under the title "I feel ashamed to be a Dane".

⁵⁹⁰ The study was based on qualitative interviews carried out with 13 Grade 8 pupils from migrant families who were attending schools in Nørrebro, about their daily media consumption. See: T. Tufte, "Minority youth, media uses and identity struggle. The role of the media in production of locality", in K. Ross (ed.), *Black Marks: Research Studies with Minority Ethnic Audiences*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2001.

⁵⁹¹ T. Tufte, "Minority youth, media uses and identity struggle", in T. Tufte (ed.), *Medierne, minoriteterne og det multikulturelle samfund* (Media, Minorities and the Multicultural Society), Nordicom, Gøteborg, 2003, (reprint), (hereafter Tufte, 2003).

⁵⁹² Tufte, 2003, p.181.

⁵⁹³ See: Hussain *et al*, 1997; and Hervik *et al*, 1999. This trend of biased reporting was also noted as late as 2005 in the following Ph.D. dissertation: Andreassen, 2005.

⁵⁹⁴ The 1999 study concluded that media discourses (re)produced "Us-Them" dichotomies. See: Hervik *et al*, 1999.

These studies also demonstrate how the media (including public service television) can, by focusing on negative episodes and events, seek to create a “moral panic”. Such editorial strategies can result in the dissemination of fears and anxieties, and ultimately lead to political reactions, such as a restrictive policy statement.⁵⁹⁵ The topics and themes that are included on the news are often echoed in public views and attitudes toward ethnic minorities. While there is no direct causal link between media representations and public attitudes, the media’s particular emphasis on certain themes and topics does provide a clue as to which attitudes are deemed “appropriate”.⁵⁹⁶

The 1997 study also found that those native Danes living in urban areas, such as Nørrebro, where they had frequent daily interaction with individuals from ethnic minorities, were far less biased in their attitudes toward such minorities than native Danes living in provincial towns. For this latter group, who had limited or no personal experience of interacting with members of ethnic minorities, their attitudes toward such minorities were demonstrably influenced by negative media stories.⁵⁹⁷

A similar result had been demonstrated earlier by researchers from the UK and the Netherlands.⁵⁹⁸ These empirical research findings support the hypothesis that, despite a negative focus on minorities by the mass media, daily interactions between the ethnic minority and majority populations can help reduce ethnic prejudice.

Two recent longitudinal studies of the Danish media (2000 and 2005) have scrutinised Danish media content on ethnic minorities for a period stretching back to the 1970s.

The first of these studies (2000), which was conducted as part of the Parliamentary Power Inquiry,⁵⁹⁹ revealed a significant polarisation in the way that different national newspapers had taken their stance on minority affairs.⁶⁰⁰ The study found that both the *Jyllands-Posten*, the most widely circulated daily newspaper, and the tabloid *B.T.* had demonstrated a negative stance toward ethnic minorities in general. By contrast, the liberal daily, *Politiken*, had shown a somewhat more positive perspective, relating emerging issues to social factors (such as reliance on social welfare benefits or the use of false documentation to claim welfare benefits) rather than to a catch-all “immigrant culture”.

This study also observed that a major shift in the media stance on minority and migration issues had coincided with the sudden influx to Denmark of refugees from

⁵⁹⁵ See: Hussain *et al*, 1997; and Hervik *et al*, 1999.

⁵⁹⁶ G. Verma, “Attitudes, Race relations and Television”, in J. Twichin (ed.), *The black and white media show book. Handbook for the study of racism and television*, Trentham Books, Stoke-on Trent, 1992.

⁵⁹⁷ See: Hussain *et al*, 1997.

⁵⁹⁸ See: Hartman and Husband, 1974; and Van Dijk, 1987.

⁵⁹⁹ For further details on the Parliamentary Power Inquiry, see Section 3.1 of this report on perception of Muslims in Denmark.

⁶⁰⁰ See: Madsen, 2000.

the Middle East and Iran in the mid- 1980s. This tendency has also been observed by several other analyses.⁶⁰¹ It is also illustrated in Table 49 below, which is based on the study's textual analysis of published letters to editors and articles in the opinion columns of the major Danish national newspapers.⁶⁰²

Table 49. Trends in media debate on migration issues, in the major Danish national newspapers (1970–1998)

Item		Year				
		1970	1984	1985	1993	1997/1998
(1) Trends in media debate on migration issues (as a proportion of all selected items*) (%)	No clear trend	15	12	22	34	24
	Positive trend	53	50	33	24	19
	Mixed trend	13	7	5	7	7
	Negative trend	19	31	40	45	48
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
(2) Total number of selected items*		47	82	480	750	486

Original source: Madsen, 2000.

Note: *Selected published letters to editors and articles in the opinion columns of the major Danish national newspapers.

The second study (2005) analysed content on ethnic minorities in the most influential and widely consumed Danish news media over the period 1971–2004.⁶⁰³ The study suggests that, in reporting news and debates concerning Muslims in Denmark, even the liberal daily *Politiken* maintained a subtle *culturalist* approach – that is, portraying social crime and deviance among Muslims as a cultural attribute. In relation to the reporting of rape and domestic violence, in particular, the study found that, when Danes were found to be involved in such crimes the newspaper reported the crimes as individual cases, pertaining to the individual background of the perpetrators. However, if an individual from an ethnic minority group, and especially a Muslim, was involved

⁶⁰¹ These include: Gaasholdt and Togeby, 1995; and Schierup, 1993.

⁶⁰² The data in this table are based on the data from Madsen, 2000, but in the form of the recategorisations of media content proposed and developed by Mikkelsen, 2008. Re-categorisation is based on Tables 5.3., 6.3, 7.3, 8.3 and 9.3, in Madsen, 2000.

⁶⁰³ The study is based on a social constructivist approach. The media analysed in the study were the public service television news channels (DR-TV and DR-TV2) and the national dailies *Politiken*, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*. See: Andreassen, 2005.

in such a criminal incident, this was instead reported in the media as a collective phenomenon, pertaining to the specific culture of that individual.⁶⁰⁴

The study also highlighted that there were over 240 news stories in the major media outlets concerning one incident of alleged gang rape, for which five young Palestinian boys were accused but later released by the court due to lack of evidence. The study found that, rather than treating this as a single serious criminal incident, the entire media coverage in all the analysed media was accomplished through a cultural frame, targeting Muslim and Arab culture.⁶⁰⁵ This case was also exploited by the Liberal Party (*Venstre*) during its anti-immigrant political campaigns in the general elections of 2001.⁶⁰⁶

The overall finding of this longitudinal study is that the representation of Muslim men in the Danish mass media, as aggressive and violent, serves the purpose of providing a contrast to a positive Danish identity. Muslim culture is portrayed, in particular, as exhibiting a disregard for gender equality and respect for women.⁶⁰⁷

Several recent analyses (2007 and 2008) have thus concluded that the “cartoons controversy” (the publication, in 2005, of the defaming cartoons of the prophet of Islam in the country’s largest newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*) to be only the culmination of an ongoing trend of a negative media portrayal of Muslims and Islam in Denmark.⁶⁰⁸

The “ethnic media”

It is difficult to provide an exact picture of the media often collectively referred to as the “ethnic media”. Namely, local television or radio programmes produced and run by ethnic minorities, and publishing (through newsletters and magazines) or broadcasting (on radio, television, and Internet) in ethnic minority languages. First, there is no research in Denmark on the consumption of such “ethnic media”. Second, such media providers frequently exist for only a short time, due to their uncertain economic situation.

Certainly, it is clear that the cuts in funding to migrant organisations (subsidies and overhead costs) implemented by the government in 2001⁶⁰⁹ impacted significantly on the production of “ethnic media”. These resulted, in particular, in a significant drop in the provision and quality of media services available in minority languages.

⁶⁰⁴ Andreassen, 2005.

⁶⁰⁵ Andreassen, 2005.

⁶⁰⁶ See: Andreassen, 2005; and Hussain, 2003.

⁶⁰⁷ Andreassen, 2005.

⁶⁰⁸ See: Hussain *et al*, 2007; and C. Boe and P. Hervik, “Integration through insult?”, in Elisabeth Eide, Risto Kunelius, and Angela Phillips (eds.), *Transnational media events. The Mohammed cartoons and the imagined clash of civilizations*, Nordicom, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, 2008.

⁶⁰⁹ For further details, see Section 3.3 of this report on national administrative structures.

Similarly, given the limited available research sources, and also the diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of Muslims in Denmark, it is difficult to characterise the precise consumption patterns and preferences of Muslims, as a group, with respect to “ethnic media”.

Patterns of media consumption

Available media research in Denmark has revealed differences between the ways that native Danes and ethnic minorities in Denmark access national and international news.⁶¹⁰ Those from ethnic minorities tend to view a broader range of cable and satellite television channels. These include Danish channels, channels from their country of origin, and also some international outlets (such as CNN, BBC-World and Al-Jazeera).

This research also suggests that uses of, and preferences in, broadcast media (whether national, international or transnational) vary between the various different ethnic minority communities. These depend on a number of factors, including availability of, or access to, channels in different languages, level of education and literacy rate, proficiency in Danish, duration of stay in Denmark and the political situation in the country of emigration.⁶¹¹

Another research finding, both in Denmark and other EU countries, is that low-income groups, including members of ethnic minorities, tend to rely on private networks, rather than the mass media, for orientating and navigating themselves through their surroundings and society.⁶¹² In Denmark, specifically, another factor is the general view of many Muslims that the mainstream national media is biased against Muslims (see Open Society Foundations focus group findings in Section 11.2 below).

Many elderly members of ethnic minorities, including many Muslims, have very poor Danish language skills. These arrived in Denmark as “guest-workers” in the late 1960s/early 1970s and were never asked to learn Danish.⁶¹³

Danish public service television and radio no longer broadcast any programme for linguistic minorities, and at present there is no political will to introduce special broadcasts for such minorities. Since January 2010, there has been a new initiative to

⁶¹⁰ See: Hussain, 2002(b). Also: Connie Christiansen, “TV-Nyheder fra hjemlandet; Integration eller ghettoisering” (TV-News from the home-country; Integration or ghettoisation), in T. Tufte (ed.), *Medierne, minoriteterne og det multikulturelle samfund* (Media, Minorities and the Multicultural Society), Nordicom, Gøteborg, 2003 (Reprint), (hereafter, Christiansen, 2003); and Mikkelsen, 2008, Chapter 10 (on media).

⁶¹¹ See: Hussain, 2002(b); and Christiansen, 2003. Also: Mikkelsen, 2008, Chapter 10 (on media).

⁶¹² See, for example: Mustafa Hussain, *Patterns of mass media consumption and informal networks of knowledge and communication among the Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Denmark*, D-Level graduation paper, Dept. of Sociology, Lund University. 1989.

⁶¹³ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

provide an online news bulletin for linguistic minorities five days a week, in the following six languages: Arabic, English, Serbo-Croatian, Somali, Turkish, and Urdu. For four of these languages (English, Serbo-Croatian, Somali, and Turkish), the bulletins can also be accessed from the Text-TV pages of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR).⁶¹⁴ However, as these broadcasts are not available on television or radio channels, their utility is very limited for the main target group – namely, individuals from the older generations, with low literacy rates in the language(s) of their country of emigration, as well as poor skills in Danish.

11.2 Survey and Focus Group Findings

11.2.1 Media sources

As part of the Open Society Foundations survey, respondents from Nørrebro District were asked where they obtained relevant information about their local area and about Denmark (see Table 50 below).

⁶¹⁴ This is a collaboration between the Danish National State Library, the Danish Refugees Council, and the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR). For further details, see: http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Andre_sprog (accessed 1 November 2010).

Table 50. Where do you get most of your information about what is happening in your local area and in Denmark?

Where do you get most of your information about what is happening:*	Response	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
(1) In your local area?	Newspapers and magazines	30	49	79
	Through friends, family, and networks	41	18	59
	Television and radio	11	11	22
	Internet and SMS	4	10	14
	Billboards / pamphlets, etc.	2	7	9
	From church/mosque gatherings and community centres	6	3	9
	From customers in the shop	2	2	4
	At language schools	1	0	1
	From the Council	1	0	1
	Don't know	2	0	2
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200
(2) In Denmark?	Television and radio	59	38	97
	Newspapers	25	27	52
	Internet	4	21	25
	Other types of media	8	13	21
	From networks	2	1	3
	From community houses and cultural centres	1	0	1
	Don't know	1	0	1
	Total (number of interviewees)	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Foundations data (Questionnaire: Copenhagen, 2008)

Note: *Responses sorted by total number of responses

An important finding from the survey responses is that the major source of local information for Muslims was through friends, family, and networks (41 respondents), a source cited by only 18 non-Muslim respondents. This corresponds to research findings that, in Denmark and other EU countries, low-income groups tend to rely on private networks, rather than the mass media, for orientating and navigating themselves through their surroundings and society (see Section 11.1 above).

For non-Muslims, newspapers and magazines were the main reported source of local information (49 respondents), with television and radio (11 respondents) and Internet/SMS (10 respondents) being of lesser importance.

For Muslims, newspapers and magazines (30 respondents) were similarly reported as being a more important source of local information than television and radio (11 respondents). However, fewer Muslims (4 respondents) reported Internet/SMS as a source of information. The implication is that potential target groups, such as semi-literate older women and men with few communicative contacts with the surrounding society, are still (as yet) largely unable to benefit from this new media.

This finding was also confirmed when respondents were asked about how they accessed information about Denmark. While 21 non-Muslims cited the Internet as a main source, this was the case for only 4 Muslims.

For both non-Muslim and Muslim respondents, the major source for information about Denmark was television and radio (59 Muslims and 38 non-Muslims). However, the survey did not address in detail whether Muslims and non-Muslims were accessing the same television and radio channels, and thereby receiving an integrated information flow, or whether the two groups were mainly accessing different media sources.

An apparent obstacle for many of the less-literate Muslims is a lack of availability of information on Denmark in a language that they can understand. None of the Muslim survey respondents reported visiting the municipal community houses.⁶¹⁵

This point was also picked up in one of the focus group sessions. Here, one participant explained how those who had arrived in Denmark as “guest-workers” in the late 1960s/early 1970s and had never been asked, or given the opportunity, to learn Danish:

One day I went to the foreman of our workshop and told him that I was interested in joining some classes for learning Danish language. He replied that there was no need for it, since the machines you operate do not speak Danish.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁵ Community houses are financed by the municipalities and include cafés and bars, with subsidised rates on food and beverages. They provide local and national newspapers available, as well as information and public lectures on local events, such as concerts.

⁶¹⁶ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

However, some focus group participants were also critical of Muslims for not seeking to access Danish media sources:

I am God damn sick and tired of some Arabs who only watch Al-Jazeera. Isn't it so?

11.2.2 Media coverage of ethnic minorities and minority issues

The role of the media in Denmark was discussed in several of the focus groups sessions (all comprised of Muslims from Nørrebro). Here, the overall feedback from participants was a sense of anti-Muslim bias on the part of the national media. Some stated that, because of this, they simply do not switch to the national channels. The view expressed by the following focus group participant is representative:

We have some great problems with the Danish media. Whenever you turn on your radio or the TV, they are always talking badly about foreigners, and especially against the Muslims. This is quite irritating.⁶¹⁷

Another participant commented on the imbalance of media coverage:

If you look at [the work of] minority organisations and associations in political life, they [Muslim youth] have done much better in the past 30-35 years than many, many young Danes. But the problem is that, when ethnic minorities do something good the media never talk about it. But when it comes to crime, or terrorism, then we are on the front page.⁶¹⁸

Another participant underlined her distrust of the national media:

Even during the Mohammed crisis [the caricatures of Islam's prophet] I was asked to take part in a TV programme, but I said, no thanks. And then came some [team] from the Swedish Television and I took part [in the interview] but I demanded that it not be relayed on Danish TV, because I am so afraid that [...] if you say something one day, and I believe, it will be misused [or manipulated with]. This I have experienced with others also [who participated in Danish TV].⁶¹⁹

Another focus group participant expressed concern at the way that media representation could shape identity:

[...] it is very important to look at how we define our own identity vis-à-vis [Danish] society. And we should also keep in mind the role the media has played, and how Islam is looked at and how people with a Muslim background

⁶¹⁷ Participant from Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

⁶¹⁸ Participant from Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

⁶¹⁹ Participant from Open Society Foundations Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

are considered in Danish society. [...] I believe that the political signals and the media have played a greater role in the way in which Muslims define themselves, and also how society defines them.⁶²⁰

This point was also picked up by another focus group participant, who was concerned at the impact that negative media representations could have on her son:

[...] my son is beginning to ask me questions. I haven't much knowledge of Islam from my upbringing, except for a form of Islamic culture, which we had at home since we are Muslim. [...] So my child who is growing up in Denmark, would go about and ask me, "Mum, what is this sharia all about? Is it true that one should hang people? What about the holy war and Jihad?". These are the types of question he comes up with, since these have been in the media. And this makes him more and more conscious about Islam. And this is also a kind of counter strategy to identify oneself, first in relation to that discrimination that goes on in the media.⁶²¹

The negative media portrayal of Muslims was also brought up in the context of discussion of the mental health problems encountered by many of the refugees who had fled situations of war and conflict. Commenting, in particular, on the helplessness of some in playing their role as "normal" parents, another focus group participant said the following:

As they [the doctors] said, at least half of these have mental health issues. If you look at the newspaper reports, the way they raise concerns that refugees do not work, do not take care of their health, that they are a burden on our hospitals, etc. [...]. The newspapers state that the refugees' culture is like that, their lifestyles are like that, and their diet is such and such. But they do not reflect upon [the fact] that these refugees, who have mental health issues, to what extent can they take steps to look after their health and their children? Often their children run wild, create disorder, and damage property. When we came to this country, we too had children, but our children did not engage in unruly and disorderly activities in the streets. But these families are such that they are unable to play the role of parents, and in many ways their children are parenting the families. The children are engaging with society, they go out, and they run the family affairs.⁶²²

As discussed above (see Section 11.1), another participant emphasised the shift over recent years toward a more negative reporting of minority issues in the national media:

⁶²⁰ Participant from Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

⁶²¹ Participant from Focus Group A (women and men aged 16-45, interviewed on education and employment).

⁶²² Participant from Focus Group B (men aged 16-45, interviewed on health and social services).

Also in the media there has been a significant shift [to the negative]. Previously it was not that negative, but now each and every time there is something [...] an episode of crime which has its social cause or background, it is linked to Islam. Always.⁶²³

In the context of discussions about police behaviour in Nørrebro⁶²⁴, another participant remarked on the role of the national media in shaping public opinion, including that of police officers:

I think also that there has been a bit [of a] brutalisation in the [behaviour of the] police force. And this is because, lately, one cannot, as an individual in society, escape the media debate. The police are also normal people. They read newspapers and watch media.⁶²⁵

⁶²³ Participant from Focus Group E (men aged 45 and over, interviewed on everyday life and being citizens of the city).

⁶²⁴ For further details, see Chapter 9 of this report on policing and security.

⁶²⁵ Participant from Focus Group C (men and women aged 16-45, interviewed on policing, civil and political participation).

12. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarises the main conclusions that emerge from each of the chapters of this report.⁶²⁶ This report seeks to understand the everyday experiences of ordinary Muslims in Denmark and, in particular, the impact at the local level of public policy aimed at improving integration and social inclusion. In this report, the identification of a person as “Muslim” has been left to the self-perception of the interviewee.

The report is based on a common **research methodology**, applied in the 11 European Union (EU) cities that are part of the Open Society Foundations’ At Home in Europe Project. The report findings and recommendations are based on data collected by the At Home in Europe Project in 2008 and 2009, as well as insights from academic research, policy documents, and reports from international and domestic organisations. Three methodological approaches were used for the data collection: a standardised survey questionnaire completed by 100 Muslims and 100 non-Muslims, six focus groups held with Muslims only, and additional qualitative (expert) interviews carried out in Copenhagen.

Denmark is comprised of 98 municipalities, of which Copenhagen Municipality has the largest population. Copenhagen Municipality is, in turn, divided into 10 administrative districts, including Nørrebro District, where the survey was conducted. The Open Society Foundations selected Nørrebro for its survey of local residents due mainly to its multiethnic fabric. Currently, a fifth of its total population are immigrants and their descendents from “non-Western” countries, of which the majority is thought to have a Muslim background. Nørrebro is one of the most multicultural, dynamic, and heavily populated areas of Copenhagen. It has also been the scene of a number of violent clashes between the police and different groups over the years, resulting in intense media scrutiny.

Looking first at available data on **population and demographics**, it must be noted that there is no accurate figure on the number of Muslims in Denmark, as Danish law prohibits the registration of its citizens according to ethnic or religious criteria. However, today there are thought to be around 175,000–200,000 Muslims in Denmark, representing up to 3.6 per cent of the overall population. By contrast, there are estimated to be at least 13 million Muslims in the EU as a whole. In Denmark, Muslims are concentrated mainly in Copenhagen, as well as in Aarhus and Odense. Their main countries of origin are Turkey, Pakistan, various Middle Eastern countries, and the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Over the last 10 years, the acquisition of Danish nationality has been made more difficult, creating different criteria for children of Danish citizens and other residents.

⁶²⁶ All references for information referred to in this chapter are provided in the relevant chapters of this report.

There have also been changes aimed at reducing the number of new immigrants arriving in Denmark, particularly through marriage and family reunification or as refugees.

Turning next to **national and regional policy on integration**, research suggests that public attitudes towards minorities in Denmark have deteriorated since the late 1980s, with both media and political discourse becoming harsher towards Muslims in particular. This view has also been supported by both domestic and international criticism of Danish policy on immigration and integration. By contrast, although official policy recognises a polarisation of opinion in Denmark about ethnic minorities, it is suggested that intolerance towards Muslims is mainly a reflection of the fact that Danes themselves are not religious and, as such, are sceptical toward any religious practice in a secular society.

The current popular perception of Muslims in Denmark, as a potential threat to Danish culture and society, has largely been shaped by hostile national media and political discourse. This view predates the attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 and its aftermath, and can be traced back to the late 1980s. At this time, the sudden influx of refugees from the Middle East and Iran, as well as the countries of the former Yugoslavia, during a period of relatively high unemployment in Denmark, focused negative attention on Muslims and Islam. Some mayors in suburban municipalities around Copenhagen (such as Ishøj and Brøndby) began to warn against “immigrant ghettos” and the “Khomenisation” of their municipalities. In addition, the influential Danish Association was successful in mobilising media and public opinions against further Muslim immigration.

Overall integration policy is devised by the national government, with the first ever package of laws on integration passed in 1999. The Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration is responsible to administer immigration, asylum, and integration issues. Current integration policy includes the goals of reducing the numbers of new immigrants arriving from “non-Western” countries and of unemployed migrants living on social welfare benefits.

The Copenhagen City Council, the local authority for Copenhagen Municipality, has pursued a consistent local policy of integration. From 2007 to 2010, the City Council had an overall integration policy that aimed to establish “improved opportunities for all”, with goals detailed under six main pillars: employment, education, housing, safety and security, culture and leisure, and health and social protection. A new draft integration policy for 2011–2014 is currently being revised, following discussion with local stakeholders and international partners, including the Open Society Foundations.⁶²⁷

Looking next at issues of **identity and belonging**, nearly two-thirds of the (self-identified) Muslims included in the Open Society Foundations survey reported that

⁶²⁷ The Open Society Foundations was informed, after the cutoff date of this report, that this new Integration Policy was adopted by Copenhagen City Council on 16 December 2010.

they were actively practising their religion, while this was the case for only a quarter of the non-Muslims. However, contrary to popular perceptions of Muslims in Denmark as paying “too much” attention to what their religion dictates, the survey found that relatively few of the Muslims considered religion to be the most important aspect of their identity. Instead, both Muslims and non-Muslims agreed that family is the most important factor.

The survey found that a high proportion of respondents, both Muslim and non-Muslim, felt a strong sense of belonging to Nørrebro and Copenhagen, with a slightly reduced proportion also reporting a strong sense of belonging to Denmark. Half of the Muslim respondents wanted to be viewed by others as Danish, yet less than a fifth felt that other people actually regarded them as such. Both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents identified a lack of proficiency in the Danish language as the most important barrier to being seen as Danish, while being a non-white minority member was the second most important barrier identified by Muslims.

The Open Society Foundations survey also revealed relatively high levels of social cohesion in Nørrebro. A majority of respondents, both Muslim and non-Muslim, reported that people in this neighbourhood are willing to help each other, and that some or most can be trusted. An important finding that emerges from both the survey results and focus group discussions is that there are no signs of a self-seclusion from other ethnic or religious groups. Contrary to the popular perception of “ethnic ghettos” that have dominated national political and media discourse about areas such as some neighbourhoods in Nørrebro, the majority of survey respondents, both Muslim and non-Muslim, agreed that people from different ethnic backgrounds could get along well together here. Survey respondents reported frequent daily and weekly interactions with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The most important locations for such interactions were reported as workplaces, schools, and colleges, followed by shops and markets.

This report focuses, in particular on seven areas of life that are crucial for integration, the first of which is **education**. In Denmark, all children must complete nine years of compulsory schooling from age six. They can then choose to attend either a vocational school or an upper secondary school (*gymnasium*), which will prepare them for university entry. There are no official statistics on the numbers of Muslim pupils in state-run public schools or in higher education. However, since 2007 official data has been collected on the numbers of bilingual pupils attending public schools, which can be used as a proxy for ethnicity. Until 2002, it was mandatory for the municipalities to offer mother tongue education free of charge to all bilingual students in compulsory education (Grades 1-9). Today, Copenhagen is one out of the few municipalities that do not distinguish between bilingual students originating from EU/EES countries and other countries, and still provide such education free of charge, on equal terms, for all bilingual students up to Grade 6.

There is very little research on discrimination in the Danish education system. However, several studies on the role of indirect discrimination in the education system

have highlighted the disadvantages experienced by bilingual pupils, in comparison with native Danes. This is mainly ascribed to factors such as a lack of adequate teaching in Danish as a second language and of intercultural teaching in public schools. While students' educational needs have not been met by appropriate teaching methods, the focus has instead tended to be on their deficiencies in Danish language, their negative social capital, and their parents' lack of ability to provide adequate guidance on educational options.

Other studies attribute the consistent performance gap found between bilingual pupils and others to socioeconomic differentials, low incomes, and less resources being available to assist with homework. It is recognised that drop-out rates remain higher for children from ethnic minorities beyond compulsory education. There are also indications that, mainly due to concerns about discrimination in employment, those young people from ethnic minorities who do go on to higher education tend to choose professional disciplines that provide them with greater freedom to move out of Denmark and find jobs in other countries.

Education is one of the six "pillars" established in the Copenhagen City Council's 2007 integration policy. Here, the City Council acknowledged the problem that many native Danes in the city, including in Nørrebro District, decide to move their children to private schools in order to avoid public schools with a high proportion of bilingual pupils. Some Muslim parents also follow this trend, by enrolling their children in international schools or private Islamic schools outside the area. As a result, many public schools in the city are dominated by pupils from low-income families with limited social and cultural capital, of which the majority is Muslim. The "Copenhagen Model" of school integration aims to offer minority families the opportunity to voluntarily move their children to public schools with a lower proportion of bilingual pupils. There are indications that this project is beginning to have an impact and that more parents are now opting for local public schools.

When survey participants were polled about local services in Nørrebro, poor standards in local schools was a main concern. The non-Muslim participants, in particular, were dissatisfied with the performance of local schools at both lower and upper secondary levels. The Open Society Foundations focus group discussions with Muslims confirmed the phenomenon of "white flight" in local schools, whereby Danish parents avoid sending their children to schools where there are perceived to be too many pupils with a minority background. The focus groups also confirmed that some Muslim parents opt for private schools.

Most survey respondents thought that local schools did respect the religious customs of their pupils. The focus group participants were also generally satisfied with the way that schools handled this, including for such topics as swimming classes and the right to take a free day from school on a Muslim holiday. It was noted that, as there is no particular dress code for Danish public schools, there is no restriction on Muslim girls wearing a headscarf (*hijab*).

Looking next at issues related to **employment**, it should be noted that, until 2009, Denmark enjoyed one of the highest employment rates of all EU countries. There is no official employment data on Muslims specifically, but data is available for immigrants and the descendants of immigrants, according to country of origin. Over the last decade, the unemployment rate for “non-Western” migrants has consistently remained significantly higher than that of native Danes. The descendants of migrants have fared better on the labour market than immigrants, but their employment rate has still remained below that of native Danes.

Migrants from “non-Western” countries, and Muslims in particular, remain among the most marginalised citizens in Danish society with regard to the employment market. Those who are employed tend to be either self-employed, or working in the least attractive and low-paid job markets. Research has found that those with qualifications do not benefit fully, on an equal footing with the rest of the population, from their education. In addition, there remains scepticism on the part of non-Muslims about the rights that should be accorded to Muslims in the workplace, including the right to wear the *hijab*. A general structural barrier to employment is that, in Denmark, a high proportion of vacancies are filled by employers using existing connections and contacts, rather than an employment agency, which tends to put migrants and people from ethnic minorities at a disadvantage.

Currently, a high number of Muslims living in Copenhagen make their living by running kiosk-shops and grocery stores, and by driving taxis. In Copenhagen Municipality, in 2005 nearly three-quarters of native Danes of working age were employed, compared to under half of immigrants from “non-Western” countries. The Copenhagen City Council’s 2007–2010 integration policy includes the specific goal of increasing the employment rate for immigrants from “non-Western” countries by 10 per cent from 2007 to 2010, up to 59 per cent. Due to the economic crisis from 2009, it has not been possible to attain this goal, but the City Council has implemented a number of successful employment initiatives targeting people from ethnic minorities, including Muslims.

The Open Society Foundations survey found that more non-Muslim than Muslim respondents were in full-time employment, while a similar number were in part-time employment. Most respondents had relied on social and family networks to find their jobs, with few using municipal employment exchanges. In line with national trends, a higher proportion of Muslims than non-Muslims were self-employed.

Those survey respondents who had been rejected for jobs in the past five years were asked about the reasons why they thought they had been unsuccessful. The highest number of non-Muslims indicated a lack of general skills or education. By contrast, many Muslims cited their ethnic or religious background as the most important factor. Focus group participants also emphasised the important role of discrimination in the labour market. In particular, they felt that the qualifications of ethnic minorities are not adequately recognised on the labour market.

Turning next to issues related to **housing**, it is significant that the largest number of socially deprived residential areas is to be found in the Copenhagen Municipality, which is also where the Muslim population of Denmark is mainly concentrated. Since the late 1980s, public concerns have been raised about the development of what are referred to by the government as “ethnic ghettos”, particularly in some parts of Copenhagen. These areas mainly comprise low-rent social housing inhabited by the poorer segments of Danish households living on welfare benefits, as well as the majority of the migrant groups. The various regeneration programmes aimed at improving these socially deprived neighbourhoods have, to date, mainly not achieved their objectives. Legislation has been introduced to restrict new refugees from finding housing beyond the municipality allocated to them. Municipalities can refuse to provide housing and social welfare benefits to those not complying with this residential restriction.

There is only limited research on the housing situation of minorities, and Muslims in particular, in Denmark. However, there is evidence of discrimination in housing experienced by ethnic minorities, in particular with respect to the waiting lists of private housing societies. The Copenhagen City Council has initiated a range of projects aimed at revitalising the city’s socially deprived residential areas, and this is also a goal of its overall integration strategy. In Nørrebro District, where the Open Society Foundations survey was conducted, not all neighbourhoods fall into the category of socially deprived residential areas. However, almost all of the socially deprived areas in the subdistrict have a high concentration of Muslim households living in rented apartments in the social housing sector.

Of those included in the survey, few respondents own their own property, and over two-thirds of Muslims and one-third of non-Muslims live in flats allocated by the municipal authorities, in social housing or public rented property. Many survey respondents stated they did not choose their place of residence, but lived in the area mainly because they had been offered social housing. Nonetheless, the vast majority of survey respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the multicultural and multiethnic neighbourhood in which they lived – a view also shared by focus group participants.

Looking next at issues related to **access to healthcare and social protection**, it should first be noted that, in Denmark, all citizens and resident non-citizens are entitled to equal protection in case of illness and emergency situations. Nonetheless, available research has highlighted several specific issues affecting the health situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark, including Muslims. A main problem is that language barriers and communication problems can make it difficult to diagnose and treat patients (particularly the elderly) from minority communities, and limit access to public health information. There is also a high prevalence of psychological problems among refugees from “non-Western” countries. There is evidence that female health visitors can play an important role for mothers from minority communities by providing guidance on health risks and health information.

Copenhagen City Council has included health as one the “pillars” of its 2007 integration policy, and has recognised the communication problems encountered by many migrants. The Open Society Foundations focus group participants also agreed that lack of proficiency in the Danish language was a barrier to receiving adequate health information. They felt that more should be done to provide such information in different languages, but also emphasised the need for Muslim communities to do more to learn the Danish language. Participants praised the recent initiative of Copenhagen Municipality to recruit some bilingual health visitors and health community workers.

The majority of survey respondents, both Muslim and non-Muslim, expressed satisfaction with health services in Nørrebro. They were also of the view that hospitals and clinics do respect different religious customs or requirements. Similarly, focus group participants commended the initiatives of the main general hospital in the area (*Rigshospital*) to meet the needs of the local Muslim population. The hospital has established a common prayer room for all faiths, and an Imam is available to provide support to patients and their families. It also provides *halal* meals for Muslim patients. However, focus group participants questioned the need for patients to pay for these meals, given that other options are free of charge, as running counter to the principle of equal treatment in social welfare provision.

The report also looks at issues related to **policing and security**. In Denmark, the state national police force is responsible for maintaining law and order, while the national intelligence agency (PET) is responsible for counter-terrorism activities. There is only limited available research on issues relating to the police and ethnic minorities. However, it is clear that negative attitudes toward the police persist on the part of some ethnic minorities communities in Denmark, including Muslims, and in particular among young men from these communities. Research suggests that police ethnic profiling methods are a main cause of these tensions, but official data is not collected on the ethnic background of individuals who are subjected police stop-and-searches. In February 2008, the disproportionate use of police stop-and-searches on young men from ethnic minorities sparked a series of riots in Nørrebro District.

The Copenhagen Police College has been active in developing training courses for police officers on policing in diverse multicultural societies, and has also included aspects of intercultural communication and cultural diversity in its curricula. The College has also campaigned for increased recruitment of trainee police officers from ethnic minority communities. However, the representation of ethnic minorities of “non-Western” origin in the police force continues to be well below that in the general population.

In the past, there has been a lack of systematic reporting and recording of hate crimes by the police and the criminal justice system. Many victims did not find it worthwhile to report such incidents. In addition, minority ethnic communities were poorly informed about potential avenues for addressing complaints of discrimination. More recently, a number of initiatives aimed at encouraging minority ethnic communities to report discrimination and hate crimes appear to have been successful in increasing reporting rates.

The PET has maintained a positive image among Muslims and has held regular meetings with representatives of the Muslim communities. In 2002, new legislation increased PET's surveillance powers. To date, 56 people (not all Muslims) have been arrested under this legislation. Partly in response to some of the more high-profile arrests, the government has supported a number of initiatives aimed at monitoring and preventing radicalisation trends among young Muslims.

Security, including crime prevention, is one of the six main pillars laid out in the Copenhagen City Council's 2007 policy on integration. Following the 2008 riots in Nørrebro, there have been a number of changes to policing strategy. These include a revitalisation of "community policing", new initiatives aimed at keeping young men off the streets, and the engagement of "street assistants" to help prevent crime. There has been no further unrest in Nørrebro since 2008, although some young men from ethnic minorities in the area are still resentful of police stop-and-search practices.

Survey respondents from Nørrebro did not express any overwhelming feeling of insecurity. The majority of Muslims, but a smaller proportion of non-Muslims, were satisfied with policing in Nørrebro. However, those respondents who had actually had recent interactions with the police tended to be less satisfied. There were high levels of trust in the police as an institution, and respondents did not select better policing or crime control as priority areas for improvements to local services. By contrast, improved youth services were identified as a main priority.

Complaints about policing, and especially about ethnic profiling, were more pronounced during the Open Society Foundations focus group sessions held with local Muslims. This was especially the case for the more well-informed participants, and particularly those involved with local groups working to keep young people away from the streets and crime. These emphasised that the tendency for police in Nørrebro to indiscriminately treat young people from ethnic minorities as potential suspects is a problem itself, and leads to unnecessary tensions. Focus group participants also felt that the general media and political discourse in Denmark on Muslims, as well as implemented anti-radicalisation policies, only serve to increase tensions. Instead, there was a need for better cooperation between the regular police and the local representatives of minority communities. There were also calls for hate crimes and ethnically-based discrimination to be taken more seriously.

The area of **participation and citizenship** is also crucial when considering integration. Only Danish citizens can vote in national elections. However, all immigrants with a minimum of three years legal residence in the country (or four years, for those coming from non-EU/EEA countries) have the right to vote and to compete in local elections. There are no restrictions on the practice of any faith or religion in Denmark. However, multiculturalism has generally not been recognised by mainstream politicians in Denmark.

Migrants generally tend to vote less frequently than native Danes. A study on the results of the local elections of November 2009 revealed that, while two-thirds of native Danes who could vote did so, this was the case for only just over a third of

eligible immigrants, or of descendents of immigrants. This study also found that political participation rates for immigrants living in Copenhagen and Aarhus had decreased significantly over the last 12 years.

A number of advisory bodies have been created at the national level and regional levels (such as the Integration Councils) to encourage minority representation in the democratic decision-making processes. However, opinions are divided as to the real impact or competencies of these bodies, in practice. In Copenhagen, the City Council has supported a number of initiatives that indirectly encourage the political participation of minorities, including Muslims. These include capacity-building support for NGOs and other organisations providing information and advice to minority communities, as well as support for provision of Danish language learning to older Muslim women.

The Open Society Foundations survey in Nørrebro District revealed that the majority of Muslims who were eligible vote in national and local elections did exercise this right. However, the participation rate for non-Muslims tended to be higher than that of Muslims. Similarly, a higher proportion of non-Muslims than Muslims had taken part in political activities (such as attending a public rally or demonstration), although the participation rates for Muslims were still significant. The survey also revealed that the majority of both Muslims and non-Muslims showed little trust in the national government, but had a far greater trust of the Copenhagen City Council. There was a marked difference between the Muslims and non-Muslims surveyed, with respect to their perceived influence on decisions at the national and local levels. While most non-Muslims agreed that they could influence such decisions, the majority of Muslims disagreed. Regarding civic participation, the survey results were similar for Muslims and non-Muslims. The main activities mentioned were participation in local residents associations and in local meetings on interethnic integration.

Participants in the focus groups emphasised the difficulties encountered by any Muslim trying to gain the acceptance of a political party and stand in local elections. In Denmark, any overt sign of religiosity tends to alienate voters. There was a feeling that, due to the hostile political and media discourse, negative public perceptions of ethnic minorities and of Muslims in particular mean that any Muslim political candidate has to be exceptionally well-qualified and talented to succeed. Participants also believed that the negative media climate has contributed to fostering a sense of political apathy, particularly among younger Muslims.

Looking finally at the **role of the media**, it should be noted that there is only limited research in Denmark on the media representation of ethnic minorities and the subsequent impact on community relations. Nonetheless, there is consensus, first, that it is the mainstream national media that play the most important role in the formation of public attitudes and political discourse and second, that the national media's portrayal of ethnic minorities has become increasingly negative since the late 1980s. By contrast, the local media are considered to be fairer toward ethnic minorities, but also far less influential than the national media.

Media research in Denmark has found an indirect, but significant, influence of the national media on the popular perception of ethnic minorities in Denmark, and of Muslims specifically. Muslim identity is represented in binary opposition to Danish identity, with, for example, individual crime stories highlighted as a collective attribute of Muslim or Arab culture. Studies have also highlighted how the media, including public service television, can seek to create a “moral panic”, by focusing on negative episodes and events.

Members of ethnic minorities in Denmark tend to view a broader range of (mainly international and transnational) cable and satellite television channels than do native Danes. Media preferences vary across the various ethnic and linguistic communities. It is difficult to quantify the consumption of “ethnic media” – media run by ethnic minorities and providing content in ethnic minority languages – as such media providers are usually short-lived. This is mainly due to their uncertain economic situation since 2001, when the government cut funding for such services.

The Open Society Foundations survey revealed that, for both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, newspapers and magazines (including free local newspapers and *Metro Express*) were a more important source of local information than television and radio. By contrast, for both groups, television and radio were a more important source of information on Denmark than newspapers. However, the survey did not provide any detail on whether the two groups were accessing the same channels. Internet was cited as a media source by more non-Muslims than Muslims, both for local and national news.

The survey also revealed that many more Muslims than non-Muslims relied primarily on information from friends, family, and other networks, rather than Danish news media. This is likely to be due to factors such as a lack of economic resources (to buy a daily newspaper or a computer), language barriers, and limited literacy on the part of some, particularly elderly, Muslims. Many elderly members of ethnic minorities, including many Muslims, have very poor Danish language skills. They arrived in Denmark as “guest-workers” starting in the late 1960s and were never asked to learn Danish. They therefore have difficulties with information in a language (Danish) that they don’t fully understanding. Danish public service television and radio no longer broadcast any services to such linguistic minorities – apart from online news bulletins that are of very limited utility to this target group.

In the Open Society Foundations focus group sessions, participants emphasised a sense of anti-Muslim bias on the part of the national media in Denmark, which had also impacted negatively on public perceptions. Participants were concerned at the imbalanced reporting of minority, and especially Muslim, issues, with an overwhelming focus on negative incidents. Participants were also troubled by the potential impact of such negative media portrayals on Muslim self-identity, particularly for children growing up in Denmark.

13. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations reflect key findings from the report. They are mainly aimed at the Copenhagen City Council, as well as other city bodies, including the Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration, Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration, Copenhagen Health and Social Care Administration, Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration, and Copenhagen Police Force. There are also recommendations aimed at the job centres and local media.

13.1 Recommendations on Education (Chapter 5)

13.1.1 Copenhagen – policy on education and integration

1. The Copenhagen City Council should ensure a regular exchange of information between policymakers, the planning authorities, and the educational authorities, in order to ensure that information about the academic achievements of schools is up-to-date and accurate.
2. The Copenhagen City Council should continue to support the organisation of special multicultural sporting events and competitions for children and young people (such as the GAM Project), multicultural musical events (such as the World Music at the Community Centre in Nørre ålle), street theatre, and other cultural activities to be held both in open spaces and in residential quarters.
3. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration⁶²⁸ should ensure that, in areas with a high concentration of minority pupils, the staff in nursery schools and kindergartens,⁶²⁹ as well as in youth clubs, have a basis in intercultural pedagogy and are proactive in establishing contacts and working relationships with parents.
4. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should provide a framework to support teachers and school leaders in implementing, in practice, an intercultural approach to teaching and school development. This

⁶²⁸ The Children and Youth Administration is attached to the Children and Youth Committee (Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen) at the Copenhagen City Council. For further details on the City Council, see Section 3.4 of this report. See also the website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage of the Children and Youth Administration. Available (in English) at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/ContactsAndFacts/DepartmentalStructure/CityAdministrations/ChildrenAndYouthAdministration.aspx> (accessed 1 December 2010).

⁶²⁹ In Denmark, nursery schools (*vuggestue*) are for children aged 1-3 years and kindergartens (*børnehave*) for children aged 3-6 years.

framework should be in line with the intensive in-service training provided under the initiative “Improved Learning for All” (*Faglighed for alle*).⁶³⁰

5. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should ensure the continued prioritisation of the mentor system, volunteer help for homework, and greater flexibility for staff and management to innovate new teaching methods, in accordance with pupils’ specific ethnic backgrounds, and their culturally specific needs and requirements.
6. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should cooperate with European research and programmes on the education of minority children, such as the Open Society Foundations Education Support Programme⁶³¹ and the TIES network⁶³² at the University of Amsterdam.
7. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should more effectively disseminate information about vocational education institutions and career opportunities for young people.
8. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should exchange information with other Danish cities and European countries, on the most effective means to reduce drop-out rates among Muslim and minority young people in secondary schools and vocational colleges.

13.1.2 Copenhagen – provisions for education in the mother tongue

9. The Copenhagen City Council should follow the recommendations of the OECD 2010 report,⁶³³ and continue to support and improve the quality of mother tongue education offered in schools. The offer should be given to all bilingual students, on a par with that offered to children from countries in the European Union (EU) and European Economic Space (EES).
10. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should take steps to recruit and train more bilingual staff for nurseries and schools at all levels.

⁶³⁰ For further details on this initiative, see Chapter 5.1 of this report on education, Section B, Copenhagen policy and practice.

⁶³¹ Further details on the Open Society Foundations Education Support Program (ESP) are available at: <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/esp> (accessed 1 July 2010).

⁶³² Further details on TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) Research Program are available at <http://www.tiesproject.eu/content/view/25/40/> (accessed 1 July 2010).

⁶³³ See: OECD, 2010

13.1.3 Copenhagen – anti-discrimination measures and respect for religion in education

11. The Copenhagen Children and Youth Administration should integrate into the curriculum of Copenhagen schools knowledge on rights concerning language, religion, and cultural identity, and ensure that information is made available on how to report cases of discrimination against religious or cultural minorities in schools, including Muslims.

13.2 Recommendation on Employment (Chapter 6)

13.2.1 Copenhagen – employment policy and integration

12. The Copenhagen City Council should require its business partners to adhere to principles of corporate social responsibility, and should encourage them to reflect the multiethnic composition of the city and Danish society in their recruitment policies. Although such a policy has already been adopted in principle, it is yet to be fully implemented and requires more effective monitoring.
13. The Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration⁶³⁴ should enhance the performance of municipal job centres by hiring additional qualified staff with competencies in intercultural communication, better able to evaluate the skills of unemployed minority clients.
14. The Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration should examine the Swedish model of integration into the employment market, which uses a flexible linkage of job training and language training, as this may help to bring many middle-aged Muslim women back into the more demanding modern labour market.
15. The Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration should evaluate current initiatives that provide potential entrepreneurs from minority communities with opportunities for training in entrepreneurship, marketing, taxation and accountancy, business loan opportunities, business-friendly behaviour towards customers and consumers, and on how to become a trade union member.

⁶³⁴ The Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration is attached to the Employment and Integration Committee (Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen) at Copenhagen City Council. For further details on the City Council, see Section 3.4 of this report. See also the website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage of the Employment and Integration Committee. Available (in English) at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/ContactsAndFacts/DepartmentalStructure/CityAdministrations/EmploymentAndIntegrationAdministration.aspx> (accessed 1 December 2010).

16. The Copenhagen Employment and Integration Administration, potentially in cooperation or partnership with the Rehabilitation Centre for the Victims of Torture, should initiate a more efficient rehabilitation of refugees and migrants suffering from post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD), as this may help them to participate in the employment market and better reintegrate into society.
17. The job centres in Copenhagen Municipality should undertake more active job-seeking facilitation and education counselling at the neighbourhood level, where street-level community workers have the best potential for identifying community resources, social capital and networks, and mobilising these in efforts for inclusion

13.3 Recommendations on Housing (Chapter 7)

13.3.1 Copenhagen – housing policy

18. The Copenhagen City Council should enhance its antisegregation measures, based on positive incentives that improve access to housing for low-income families in areas other than the most deprived neighbourhoods.
19. The Copenhagen City Council should challenge negative stereotypes about certain city neighbourhoods, and engage active and committed citizens and organisations to make a positive difference in their neighbourhoods.
20. The Copenhagen City Council should adopt measures to maximise participation in municipal decision-making processes by the residents of those areas that will be affected by these decisions.

13.4 Recommendation on Health and Social Protection (Chapter 8)

13.4.1 Copenhagen – policy on health and social protection

21. The Copenhagen City Council should encourage those responsible for sports and gymnastic facilities to improve the facilities offered to women and girls in public sports halls and schools.
22. The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration⁶³⁵ and local hospitals should ensure that the information they provide in translation is correctly

⁶³⁵ The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration is attached to the Health and Care Committee at Copenhagen City Council. For further details on the Council, see Section 3.4 of this report. See also the website of the City of Copenhagen, webpage of the Health and Care Committee. Available (in English) at: <http://www.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/ContactsAndFacts/DepartmentalStructure/CityAdministrations/HealthAndCareAdministration.aspx> (accessed 1 December 2010).

translated and comprehensible, to ensure the full effectiveness of this provision.

23. The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration should continue and expand its recruitment of bilingual health visitors and social workers.
 24. The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration should ensure that its service desk staff receives training in intercultural communication.
 25. The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration and Children and Youth Administration should ensure that young people from minority communities continue to be encouraged to enter, and work at all levels of, the healthcare sector.
 26. The Copenhagen Health and Care Administration should take steps to ensure that the growing population of elderly Muslims will have appropriate accommodation in the coming years.
- 13.4.2 Copenhagen – impact of the integration policy in relation to health and social protection
27. The Copenhagen City Council should maintain its goal of closing the health gap between native Danes and ethnic minorities, including Muslim families.

13.5 Recommendations on Policing and Security (Chapter 9)

13.5.1 Police recruitment initiatives

28. The Copenhagen police should redouble its recruitment policy aimed at increasing the proportion of its workforce coming from a minority background, and ensure that policies are put in place to equal promotion and retention of minority police officers and other staff.

13.5.2 Police ethnic profiling and training initiatives

29. The Copenhagen City Council and district councils should speak out against discrimination in all forms, including with respect to ethnic profiling.
30. The Copenhagen police should develop clear regulations and operational written standards for initiative stops and identity checks, and the conduct of officers during those stops. These standards should stress that ethnicity, religion, and other superficial personal characteristics do not provide a sound basis for stops and searches.
31. The Copenhagen police should give all police officers and supervisors practical training on the use of initiative stops and identity checks, including a

discussion on the influence of negative stereotypes and guidance on the need to focus on suspicious behaviour rather than appearance.

13.5.3 Copenhagen – Policy on policing and community liaison

32. The Copenhagen police, in collaboration with the Copenhagen City Council, should further develop community policing initiatives that prioritise the police working in partnership with young people and community representatives, rather than aggressively and conspicuously patrolling areas.
33. The City of Copenhagen should provide funding for community workers and volunteer projects, such as those run by parents' groups, to engage constructively with young people from ethnic minorities.

13.6 Recommendations on Participation and Citizenship (Chapter 10)

34. The Copenhagen City Council should devise more efficient information campaigns and capacity-building activities targeted at the migrant communities, about the administrative and political structure of the city, the rights and obligations of citizens, and where to lodge complaints in the case of a problem.
35. The Copenhagen City Council should take steps to increase outside contacts for the isolated population of elderly Muslim women, such as through supporting activities in local cultural centres.
36. The Copenhagen City Council should facilitate cultural exchanges organised by local resident associations between low-income and elderly Muslim and non-Muslim residents, such as to museums, community centres, and places of worship.
37. The Copenhagen City Council should encourage the municipal libraries to arrange special exhibitions on arts and literature by local artists and writers from minority backgrounds. These should be coupled with debates on integration issues and problems in the local areas, and on what members of the ethnic minorities (Muslims and non-Muslims) could do to resolve these issues, through individual and collective initiatives.
38. The Copenhagen City's Employment and Integration Administration should facilitate pedagogically appropriate Danish language classes for Muslim women, arranged at suitable locations and times such that these can be balanced with daily family obligations.

13.7 Recommendations on the Media (Chapter 11)

13.7.1 National and local media representation of ethnic minorities

39. National broadcasters, news corporations, journalists, and editors are urged to offer balanced and fair coverage when reporting on stories that involve ethnic and visible minorities, with an eye to the longer term impact on society's views of its citizens. They are reminded that media consumption can be viewed as an act of citizenship, in which the media informs and shapes society's views of groups, both minority and majority. The media can under-represent, over-represent and mis-represent issues.
40. Local and national political representatives should speak out against negative and inflammatory discourse, which has an adverse effect on the dynamics and relations between communities, groups, residents, and individuals in Denmark. Responsible leadership is required that overturns negative populist rhetoric against ethnic minorities, and also ensures that the crises that can be created by irresponsible, unfair, and inaccurate representation of groups will not lead to policy responses based on anti-immigrant or anti-minority rhetoric.

13.7.2 Local media representation of ethnic minorities

41. The local media in Copenhagen municipality (including *Nørrebro-TV*, *Kanal København*, and Denmark Radio's *Københavns Radio*) should place a concerted focus on the diversity of cultures present in Copenhagen, and initiate special editions and broadcasts that include participation and representation of, and by, various ethnic minority representatives, columnists, professionals, and artists.
42. The Copenhagen City Council should support local media initiatives that reflect the cultural diversity of the city and promote integrative and alternative voices and communications across ethnic boundaries. These initiatives could include, for example, the provision of financial assistance, encouraging active local media involvement in integration projects, and launching special thematic programmes (including on crime prevention, health, and music and art).
43. The Copenhagen City Council should translate essential pages of the municipal websites into the languages of the major ethnic minorities in Copenhagen and consider wide use of video sharing websites. Such actions would address the less literate population of ethnic minorities, including Muslims, and promote the use of new media, while at the same time introducing them to the activities and processes of their local government and City Council.

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A1.4 List of Danish laws referenced in this report

Further details and the text of most laws can be accessed (in Danish) on the website: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/>

Law no. 571 on Changes to the Integration Law and other different laws (*Lov om ændring af integrationsloven og forskellige andre love*) of 31 May 2010.

Law no. 495 on Change of Procedures (*Lov om ændring af retsplejeloven*) of 12 June 2009.

Law no. 95, the Health Law (*Sundhedsloven*) of 7 February 2008.

Consolidated Act no. 1593, Law on the Integration of Foreigners in Denmark (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark*), of 14 December 2007.

Consolidated Act no. 1460, on the Law on Active Social Policy (*Lovbekendtgørelse af lov om aktiv socialpolitik*) of 12 December 2007.

Consolidated Act no. 1195, the Act on *Folkeskole* (*Folkeskoleloven*) of 30 November 2006.

Consolidated Act no. 610, Law no. 573 (of 24 June 2005) on Social Services, etc. (*Bekendtgørelse om lov om social service*) of 15 June 2006.

Law 542 on Changes to the law on the administration of justice (*Lov om ændring i retsplejeloven*) of 8 June 2006.

Law no. 239 on Changes to the law on active social and employment policy (*Ændring af lov om en aktiv beskæftigelsesindsats og lov om aktiv social politik*) of 27 March 2006.

Law no. 594, Law amending the Law on *Folkeskolen* – A Stronger emphasis on teaching Danish as a second language, hereunder the possibility to refer bilingual students to another school than the district school (*Lov om ændring af lov om folkeskolen. Styrket undervisning i dansk som andetsprog, herunder udvidet adgang til at henvise tosprogede elever til anden skole end distriktsskolen*) of 24 June 2005.

Parliamentary Act no. 113, the Danish Nationality Act (*Bekendtgørelse af lov om dansk fødsret*) of 5 May 2004.

Law no. 378 on Changes to the laws on the penal code and the administration of justice act etc., (*Lov om ændringer af straffeloven, retsplejeloven mm.*) of 6 June 2002.

Law no. 429 on Personal Data (*Persondataloven*) of 13 May 2000.

Law no. 474 on the Integration of Foreigners in Denmark (*Integration of udlændinge i Danmark*), of 1 January 1999

Law no. 226, the Alien Act (*Udlændigeloven*) of 8 June 1983.

Law on the Amendment of the Law on Local and Regional Elections (*Lov om ændring af lov om kommunale*) of 24 March 1981.

ANNEX 2. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

List of interviews carried out by OSF for this report, with stakeholders in Copenhagen:

- 1) Mr. Assad Ahmed, Consultant on bilingual pupils, Educational Administration Wing, Copenhagen Municipality:
 - Interviewed for the first time, on schools and education policy for bilingual pupils, on 21 August 2009 in Copenhagen.
 - Interviewed for a second time, on mother tongue education, including quality aspects, on 2 April 2010 in Copenhagen.
- 2) Ms. Anita Kedia, Project Manager, Youth Training and Education, Copenhagen Municipality:
 - Interviewed on educational issues, and issues relating to young people from ethnic minorities, and municipal policies and practice, on 22 February 2010 in Copenhagen
- 3) Mr. Bashy Quraishy, Chairman of ENAR-DK (the European Network Against Racism, Denmark):
 - Interviewed on general issues related to Muslim integration, Islamophobia, the local media and old people, on 16 September 2009 in Frederiksberg.
- 4) Mr. Eric Tinor-Centi, Director of TLS-Consult, former Director and co-founder of the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DACoRD):
 - Interviewed on integration and anti-discrimination, the historical development of national policy on migrants, political discourse, and policing in Nørrebro, in Copenhagen, on 24 October 2008.
- 5) Ms. Pernille Kjeldgaard, Head of the Integration Secretariat, Copenhagen Municipality:
 - Interviewed on the successes and failures in integration policy and its execution, women and employment, on 2 September 2009 in Copenhagen.
- 6) Ms. Margrethe Wivel, Administrative Head, Immigrant Women's Centre, Nørrebro:
 - Interviewed on social and psychological, economic and legal problems highlighted by migrant women during their visits to the centre, for counselling, on 14 September 2009 in Copenhagen.
- 7) Mr. Abdul Wahid Petersen, Imam and Spokesperson for the Federation of Muslim Associations (*Muslimernes Fællesråd*):

- Interviewed on cooperation between the Copenhagen City Council, the police and Muslim organisations, on 14 September 2009 in Copenhagen.
- 8) Mr. Hamid El-Mousti, Member of the Copenhagen City Council, representing the Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterne*):
- Interviewed on civic and political participation by Muslims in local politics, and the influence of the minority members in the Copenhagen City Council, on 14 August 2009 in Copenhagen.
- 9) Mr. Boye Haur, politician and former parliamentary candidate for the Social Liberal Party (*De Radikale*), from Nørrebro constituency:
- Interviewed on general trends in politics regarding Islam and Muslims, and the predominance of the Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*; DF) in legislative measures, on 14 November 2009 in Ballerup.
- 10) Ms Ömran German, Supervising Teacher (*Funktionslærer*), mother tongue teaching of Turkish in public schools in Copenhagen Municipality:
- Interviewed on the situation of mother tongue teaching in Copenhagen, on 28 February 2010 in Valby.

In addition to above interviews, Dr. Flemming Mikkelsen, Researcher, Danish University of Education, has been consulted at various stages of the research process and the final analysis.

Whether citizens or migrants, native born or newly-arrived, Muslims are a growing and varied population that presents Europe with challenges and opportunities. The crucial tests facing Europe's commitment to open society will be how it treats minorities such as Muslims and ensures equal rights for all in a climate of rapidly expanding diversity.

The Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe project is working to address these issues through monitoring and advocacy activities that examine the position of Muslims and other minorities in Europe. One of the project's key efforts is this series of reports on Muslim communities in the 11 EU cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Berlin, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Leicester, London, Marseille, Paris, Rotterdam, and Stockholm. The reports aim to increase understanding of the needs and aspirations of diverse Muslim communities by examining how public policies in selected cities have helped or hindered the political, social, and economic participation of Muslims.

By fostering new dialogue and policy initiatives between Muslim communities, local officials, and international policymakers, the At Home in Europe project seeks to improve the participation and inclusion of Muslims in the wider society while enabling them to preserve the cultural, linguistic, and religious practices that are important to their identities.